IPSWICH
THROUGH THE AGES

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M.B.E., B.A.

IPSWICH, ENGLAND

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TO THE MEMORY OF MY FATHER,
VINCENT B. REDSTONE

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CONTENTS

		PAGE
	List of Plans and Illustrations with Comment	6
	Preface	19
Chapter I.	Introductory: Beginnings of Ipswich	23
Chapter II.	Ipswich Within the Ramparts	30
Chapter III.	Increase Through Industry	41
Chapter IV.	The Governors and the Governed	53
Chapter V.	The Soul of Medieval Ipswich	73
Chapter VI.	Puritan Ipswich	87
Chapter VII.	The County Town of Suffolk	99
Chapter VIII.	Ipswich and the Nation	109
Chapter IX.	Home Life in Ipswich	120
	Chronology: Chief Events in Ipswich History	140
	Index	150

LIST OF

PLANS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

WITH COMMENT

1. IPSWICH FROM THE CLIFF *facing* 24

From a lithograph by L. Haghe, after a sketch by the Rev. Richard Cobbold, (1797-1877).

2. EARL GYRTH AT HASTINGS, 1066. *between* 24-25

Bayeux Tapestry.

Gyrth, fourth son of Godwin, is said to have slain Duke William's horse, before being struck down by the duke. As Earl of East Anglia (1057-66) he held one-third of the borough and half hundred of Ipswich, Queen Edith holding the other two-thirds.

3. THE WEST GATE, 1769. *between* 24-25

From an engraving by Godfrey published by Hooper.

Drawn 1769, published 1772 and again in this slightly different form, 1785. (See Grose, *Suffolk*, p. 72). Sometimes called St. Matthew's, or Bar, Gate, it defended the approaches from London and Norwich. The lower part of stone was called the New Gaol in 1334. (Corporation Records. Recogn. R. Frid after Conception of B.V.M.8 Edw. III). The upper fifteenth century part of red brick was possibly erected at the time when John Caldwell built a new gaol at the head of Black Horse Lane, just within the gate, in 1448; the gate had cells used in conjunction with this gaol. The clock, known as the "Gaol Clock," was kept in repair from a charitable bequest made by Mr. John Gibbon in 1717. The gate was sold for destruction under an order of the Great Court, 17 November, 1781.

4. IMAGINARY PLAN OF IPSWICH, 1325 *between* 24-25

Drawn by A. R. Pearce, A.R.I.B.A.

This plan is based upon entries extracted from the Corporation Records by Mabel I. Redstone to indicate the position of street markets and religious houses. The outline is based upon the plan made by John Speed in 1610 (see No. 11). The line of the ramparts has been shown only where their existence is certain. South and west of the town the exact position of the ditch and ramparts is unknown, and they may not have continued through the marshes or along the quayside.

5. THE MARKET CROSS AND SHAMBLES, 1780 *facing* 25

From an engraving by H. R. Cook after George Frost.

Showing the Market Cross with the figure of Justice, given by Francis Negus, of Dallinghoo, and the Shambles or Flesh Market, on the site of the present Post Office. The Shambles, as here shown, was probably the building re-erected in timber brought from Ulverston Hall in 1583. Its materials were sold in 1794 to Mr. George Gooding, architect and surveyor, who took a sixty-year lease of the site and replaced the Shambles by the Rotunda, built after the style of the *Halle au Blé* in Paris (see No. 44).

6. THE COMMON QUAY. *facing* 25

From an engraving by J. Greig after G. Frost, published by S. Piper, Ipswich, 2 March, 1829.

This is the "Common" Quay which evidently superseded the "Old" Quay, converted into a dock for ship-building in the 16th century. It was reconstructed, as here shown, about 1727. The colonnaded timber building on the right is the Old Custom House, under which mariners used to promenade. The Customs were removed in 1845 to a new "Hall of Commerce," then built to house also the Dock Commissioners and Inland Revenue officials.

7. THE ANCIENT HOUSE, BUTTER MARKET. *facing* 32

From an early water-colour in the Cullum Library, Bury St. Edmunds.

For the history of this house see p. 34. The picture also illustrates the type of stall used in the street-markets, and the overhanging street signs by which shops, as well as inns, were identified.

8. THE NEPTUNE INN, FORE STREET. *facing* 33

From a water-colour sketch by E. Pococke.

Originally, and again now, a dwelling-house. The rear is of an earlier period than the date (1639) on the front.

9. THOMAS ELDRED'S SHIP. 36

From a panel painting formerly at "Olivers," Colchester, by courtesy of Miss A. D. Harrison.

From a group of three panel paintings which probably descended to the Eldred family of Olivers from John Eldred, the second son of the navigator.

This four-masted vessel is finer than that shown in the parallel group now at Christchurch Mansion (see No. 10). This ship is from the group which includes (1) a portrait of Eldred, in old age, 1620 with an astrolabe hanging from his forefinger and the cross-staff in the background, denoting his skill in navigation, and (2) a globe with the inscription: "Thomas Eldred went out of plimmouthe 1586 July 21 and sailed about the whole globe and arrived againe in plimmouthe ye 9 of September 1588. What can seeme greate to him that hath seene the whole world and the wondrous works therein, Save the Maker of it and the world above it?"

10. THOMAS ELDRED, HIS SHIP AND GLOBE. *facing* 48

From the etching by Fred Russel and Walt. Hagreen.

From the overmantel now in Christchurch Mansion and probably originally possessed by the circumnavigator's eldest son, Thomas Eldred, of Ipswich. See for this and the parallel group, owned by the second son John, the *Mariner's Mirror*, XV. (Jan., 1929).

Eldred was an Ipswich merchant "of good report" and sailed with Cavendish through the Straits of Magellan and home by way of the South Sea. The comparatively small vessel painted in this group, perhaps represents the "Desire," Thomas Fuller of Ipswich Master, in which Eldred must have returned after the sinking of the "Hugh Gallant" and the loss of the "Content."

11. PLAN OF THE TOWN OF IPSWICH, 1610. *facing* 49

From the inset to the Map of Suffolk described and divided into Hundreds, by John Speed.

The earliest known plan of the town. The original key to the lettering has been omitted, since it contains several inaccuracies.

It should read as follows, the italics denoting revisions: A, Christ Church; B, St. George's Chapel; C, St. Margaret's; D, St. Matthew's; E, St. Mary Tower; F, St. Mary Elm; G, St. Lawrence; H, St. Stephen's; I, *St. Helen;* M., St. Peter; N, St. Mary Quay; P, Stoke Church; Q, Stoke Bridge; R, Stoke Mill; S, The Quay; T, Grey Friars; V, White Friars; W, Z, *Christ's Hospital, formerly Black Friars;* X, Grammar School; Y, *Handford Mill;* 3, Bull Gate; 4, Bar Gate; 5, Old Bar Gate; 6, Fish Market; 7, King's Street; 8, Corn Hill; 9, Brook Street.

12. SKITTLE ALLEY AT THE REAR OF RANSOMES' PLOUGH SHOP IN ST. MARGARET'S DITCHES (NOW OLD FOUNDRY ROAD), ABOUT 1810 *facing* 56

By the courtesy of Messrs. Ransomes, Sims & Jefferies, Ltd.

This picture belongs to a time shortly after the founder of the firm, Robert Ransome, had been joined by his son, James Ransome, and after patents had been taken out for the chilled plough (1803) and its improvements.

13. BETTS'S STABLES, STARTING PLACE FOR THE LONDON WAGGONS *between* 56-57

From a pencil sketch dated 1884.

The stables at the corner of Carr Street and Cox Lane, owned by Messrs. Betts and Bury, later Deacon and Betts, whose stage waggons in 1830 left for London every Tuesday and Thursday afternoon and Sunday morning, and also served all towns in Suffolk and Norfolk.

14. THE LONDON WAGGONS *between* 56-57

From an advertisement in the Ipswich Journal.

One of the waggons of Betts and Bury which was carrying gunpowder to Ipswich in 1820 was struck by lightning about two miles out of Colchester and blew up.

15. LAUNCH OF THE "ORION" STEAMER, 1840 *between* 56-57

From a contemporary engraving.

The advertisement, commemorating the launching, and describing the ship as follows: "This very splendid and powerful vessel was built by Messrs. Read and Page, at their Ship-yard,

Halifax, and is the first iron steamer ever constructed in the Port of Ipswich. She was launched on the 27th of October, 1840.

Length between perpendiculars	162 feet, 6 inches
Ditto over all	182 feet
Length of beam	22 feet, 3 inches
Breadth over all	42 feet, 6 inches
Depth of hold	10 feet, 2 inches
Tonnage, O.M.	346—48/90

She will be propelled by an elegant pair of engines of the collective power of 100 horses designed and executed by Messrs. Lloyd and Easter, Engineers, London."

16. AERIAL VIEW OF STOKE BRIDGE, THE DOCKS AND FORE STREET, 1920-30. *between* 56-57

From a photograph by A. W. Hobart.

17. THE MARKET CROSS AND MOOT HALL *facing* 57

From an engraving.

As they appeared between 1723, when the figure of Justice, adapted from Flora and given by Francis Negus of Dallinghoo in that year was set over the Cross, and 1812, when the cross was pulled down as an obstruction to the hill. Carved heads upon the cross, which was built about 1628 from a bequest by Benjamin Osmond, an Ipswich clothier, appear as tail pieces to Chapters I., V., VI., VII., VIII. and IX.

The Moot Hall consisting of (1) a western portion plastered and crenellated, with an outside stairway and (2) an eastern building of red brick with overhanging upper storeys, was sometimes styled the "Toll House" or "Town Hall," and included an upper Hall of Pleas added in the reign of Henry VI. The Moot Hall was the original meeting place for the Corpus Christi Gild and stood immediately north of St. Mildred's chapel, which is probably the church represented upon the reverse of the 13th century seal of the borough. The front of the hall, with its massive stairway, was also considered an obstruction and removed in 1812. A new *Palladian* front was added from designs of Mr. Benjamin Catt in 1818, and this new building was completed with a new Sessions Hall for the borough in 1841, when the courts at the Old Shire Hall were pulled down. The whole site was cleared in 1867 and the present Town Hall of stone, in Venetian style, was then erected by Mr. E. Gibbons, an Ipswich builder from designs by Bellamy and Hardy, of Lincoln, to occupy the ancient site and those of the adjacent Corn Exchange Tavern and the corner shop of King Street.

18. THE FIRST COMMON SEAL OF IPSWICH, 13TH CENTURY (OBVERSE). *facing* 57

From a photograph of a cast of British Museum Seal 5013.

Thought to be the common seal made in 1200 and shown to the assembled Commonalty, or Great Court, on 12th October of that year. Remarkable as a very early, if not the earliest, representation of a ship with stern-post rudder, a type of vessel also used on the 13th century seals of Poole, and of several Baltic ports. The legend reads: S'COMUNITATIS VILLE GYPEWICI.

The reverse of this seal is a church with central spire topped with a cross, a round-headed doorway in the middle, two smaller doorways with folding doors at the sides and probably representing the church of St. Mildred's near the Gild Hall or Moot Hall.

Described, *B.M. Catalogue of Seals*, ii., 95-6.

19. THE CUCKING STOOL OR THEW. 59

Drawn by the Slader Studio from the original in Christchurch Mansion.

The practice of ducking scolds was an ancient custom of the borough and is recorded thus in the Domesday Book of Ipswich (Add. MS. B.M. 25011, f. 22):

"Wommen that ben comoun chideres and stryverys in the forseid town of Gippeswich, and wil not chastysyn her wykked tunges, but maliciously withseyn her neghbourys, be they chastysed by the Jilyse, that is clepyd the thewe, or ellys make they grevous raumpsoun zif they have wher of."

20. OLD BOLTON. *facing* 72

From a water-colour sketch by E. Pococke.

Showing the channel down the middle of the roadway.

21. THE CORNHILL, 1842. *between* 72-73

From a lithograph by W. Gauci after a drawing by C. L. Nursey.

Showing the Town Hall, as completed in 1841, and the Corn Exchange, as built on the site of the Rotunda in 1812, and as topped by the figure of Justice, removed from the Market Cross.

22. ST. MICHAEL AND THE DRAGON IN THE CHURCH OF ST. NICHOLAS . *facing* 73

Photograph by S. Haggar, Ipswich.

This eleventh-century stone carving, with others showing a boar and three figures, probably of priests, appears to have been

removed from the ancient, lost, church of St. Michael to that of St. Nicholas. St. Michael's church was endowed with eight acres and was held by Unwin, a priest, in 1086. The legend reads: HER SANCTUS MICAEL FEHT WID DANE DRAGON.

23. ST. MARGARET'S CHURCH, IPSWICH *facing* 88

From an engraving by Capone.

One of the finest of the fifteenth-century parish churches in Ipswich, and remarkable for its double hammer-beam roof of late fifteenth-century workmanship. It was appropriated to the Austin Canons of the neighbouring Priory of Holy Trinity (or Christchurch), and was served after the Reformation by chaplains or perpetual curates appointed by the owners of Christchurch Mansion.

24. GATEWAY TO WOLSEY'S COLLEGE, IPSWICH *facing* 88

From an engraving by Capone, published by Piper.

The brick gateway bears the arms of Henry VIII. carved in stone. It was probably not intended for the main entrance to the college, the remaining materials for which were removed by the grantee Thomas Alvard for the construction of Henry VIII.'s "manor" of Westminster in 1532.

The illustration shows the near neighbourhood of the college to the parish church of St. Peter, which Wolsey intended to absorb into his college, but which was restored for the use of the parishioners after his fall. Part of the dividing wall of rubble and brick between the college and the churchyard can still be traced.

The church of St. Peter is chiefly remarkable for the good proportions of its tower, which was being built in 1449, and for its late 12th century font of Tournai marble, which was probably imported ready carved, from workshops on the banks of the River Scheldt.

25. WEST VIEW OF CHRIST'S HOSPITAL (SITE OF THE BLACK FRIARS' PRIORY), 1748 *between* 88-89

From a drawing by Joshua Kirby, published by him, 25 March, 1748, engr. by I. Wood.

Kirby describes the buildings as follows: 1, Library; 2, Chapel; 3, Bridewell; 4, Grammar School; 5, Cloisters and Hospital; 6, Foundation (i.e., Tooley and Smart's Almshouses).

26. PORTRAIT OF CARDINAL WOLSEY WITH PAINTING OF HIS COLLEGE AT OXFORD. *facing* 89

From the original by Sampson Strong (1610) *at Christ Church, Oxford. Reproduced by permission of the Governing Body.*

This portrait, which was at one time attributed to Holbein, bears the Cardinal's arms incorporating the rose of Tudor and the leopard's heads of De la Pole, Duke of Suffolk. They are: Sable on a cross engrailed argent a lion passant gules between four leopards' heads azure on a chief or a rose gules between two Cornish choughs proper.

An inset in the portrait shows Wolsey's college at Oxford before the erection of "Big Tom" which was added by Wren in 1682.

27. "NEWES FROM IPSWICH." *facing* 96

Title Page of the Reprint of 1641, *by courtesy of the Chief Librarian, Ipswich Borough Libraries.*

William Prynne, who, under the pseudonym Matthew White, wrote this pamphlet, as an attack upon Wren, Bishop of Norwich, was sentenced in the Star Chamber to lose the stumps of his ears, to be branded S.L. ("Seditious Libeller") on both cheeks, to forfeit £5,000 and to be imprisoned for life. The tract takes the form of a *Coranto* or news letter dated from Ipswich, 12 Nov., 1636. It makes a general attack upon the bishops for suppressing week-day lectures and sermons on Sunday afternoons, and for silencing puritanical ministers. It appeals to the king against the "persecuting Prelates," especially the Bishop of Norwich, and promises further news in the following week as to the excommunication by Mr. Dade (Archdeacon's Commissary) of Ferdinando Adams, an Ipswich churchwarden, who had failed to remove from the wall of Mr. Ward's church (i.e., St. Mary Tower) the text "It is written, my house shall be called an house of Prayer, but yee have made it a den of theeves," which had been written over the archdeacon's court, possibly where the church abutted on the archdeacon's residence.

28. PULPIT IN THE UNITARIAN CHAPEL. *facing* 97

From a water-colour sketch by E. Pococke.

This pulpit presumably dates from the opening of the church in April, 1700, when the sermon was preached by the Rev. John Fairfax, ejected from Barking, Suffolk, in 1662. The building was erected for a Presbyterian congregation, representing the Presbyterians and Independents for whom the Rev. Owen Stockton had taken licence to meet at "Greyfriars' House" in 1672. The Independents had broken away in 1686, hiring a building in Green Yard, St. Peter's Parish, for a separate meeting house.

29. THE SOUTH PROSPECT OF ST. CLEMENT'S CHURCH, 1674. *facing* 97

From the inset upon the Plan of the Borough of Ipswich surveyed by John Ogilby, 1674, and engraved by Thomas Steward, 1698.

One of the typical 15th century churches of Ipswich, chiefly remarkable for its tower built in the second decade of the 16th century, for its fine clerestory and for its typical, East Anglian octagonal font. The aisle was in course of rebuilding in 1458, when a bequest to it was made by Agnes Starlyng. John Forgon a tanner, who was buried in 1525 in the transept, or cross-alley, before his wife's pew, bequeathed the free stone to make the battlements of the tower and paid for their construction.

30. CHAIRING THE CANDIDATE. *facing* 104

Part of a drawing by the Rev. Richard Cobbold, published in his "Valentine Verses," 1827.

The relative verses begin:

"Exalted thus the members ride
Elected in their Country's cause,
In England's Honor they have pride,
And merit Britain's just applause."

The banners inscribed: "Gooch," "Agriculture," "Our Glorious Constitution, Lords and Commons" indicate that the candidate who is thus being chaired, is Thomas Sherlock Gooch, of Benacre, who succeeded his father as baronet 7 April 1826, and died 18 Dec., 1851. He represented Suffolk in Parliament from 1806 until 1830, always standing in the old Tory "Blue" interest, and being especially active upon agricultural committees of the House of Commons.

31. THE WET DOCK, IPSWICH *between* 104-105

From a lithograph by W. Gauci after a painting by C. L. Nursey.

Soon after the completion of the dock in 1842.

32. PYKENHAM'S GATEWAY, NORTHGATE STREET. *facing* 105

From a water-colour sketch by E. Pococke.

Attributed to William Pykenham, LL.D., who became Archdeacon of Suffolk in 1471 and Dean, and Rector of Hadleigh, 1472, and was a great pluralist. He died 1497, having also built the brick rectory tower at Hadleigh. In one of the spandrils of the gateway a fish, presumably a pike, alludes to his name, and the

initials W.P. were formerly to be seen on the gate. (Kirby, *Suffolk Traveller*, p. 43).

The house, evidently occupies the site of the one in Brook Street (the name formerly given to Northgate Street), for which the Archdeacon of Suffolk paid a rent of 2s. 6d. to Holy Trinity Priory in the thirteenth century. The Ipswich residence of the archdeacon, then Cardinal of St. Angelo, was attacked by the rioters in the revolt of 1381. The house eventually passed into private hands and is now occupied by the Ipswich and Suffolk County Club.

33. THE OLD TOWER WORKHOUSE. *facing* 112

From a coloured sketch by E. Pococke.

The building on the left, a typical parish workhouse, bore the date 1759. The premises, when bequeathed to the churchwardens and overseers of St. Mary Tower by Mr. John Rednall in 1690, were described as four tenements and a hay house in or near the Tower Ditches.

34. THE OLD SHIRE HALL (1698-1841). *facing* 112

By Walter Hagreen and Frederick Russel.

Built (1698-1701) by subscription, to which Sir Samuel Barnardiston contributed largely, and with a grant of £300 from the county and upon the corporation's ground, then occupied by a butcher, John Dameron, behind Christ's Hospital. The subject of a dispute between the ex-town-clerk, Richard Puplett and others and the corporation, 1707-08, it contained two courts, let until 1839 to the county magistrates for Quarter Sessions for certain hundreds, and also used latterly for Sessions of Borough Courts, until courts were added in 1841 to the (then new) Town Hall, the cost being partly defrayed by sale of the materials of the Old Shire Hall.

35. EAST SUFFOLK COUNTY COURTS, IPSWICH, 1839. *facing* 113

From an engraving by D. Buckle after a drawing by J. Marchant; frontispiece to "Pawsey's Ladies' Fashionable Repository," 1840.

Erected 1836-7 by John Lake, a local builder, from the designs of a London architect, Mr. Brook, of the Adelphi, and first used for Suffolk Assizes in 1839.

36. MAKING THE EASTERN UNION RAILWAY, 1845. *facing* 113

From an etching by Henry Davy.

"Eastern Union Railway, as seen from the South Bank of the Cut through Sir Robert Harland's Wood, Wherstead, Suffolk,

looking towards the River Orwell and Ipswich. Engineers, Joseph Locke and Peter Bruff, Esqs. Chairman, J. C. Cobbold, Esq. Secretary, J. F. Saunders, Esq."

"Drawn, etched and published by Henry Davy, Globe Street, Ipswich, July 11, 1845."

37. PORTRAIT OF SAMUEL KILDERBEE, TOWN CLERK, 1755-1767 BY THOMAS GAINSBOROUGH, R.A. *facing* 120

The original in Christchurch Mansion.

Samuel Kilderbee (originally of Framlingham) was admitted Freeman of Ipswich with 126 others, by payment of five guineas each, in 1755, and became Town Clerk in that year. He was friendly with Gainsborough whom he accompanied upon a tour to the Lake District in 1783, and the Gainsborough family visited Kilderbee in Ipswich upon at least one occasion. Kilderbee owned a number of pictures painted by Gainsborough, and was appointed overseer of his will.

The portrait was purchased by the corporation with aid from the Felix Cobbold Bequest and the National Art Collection Fund in 1946.

38. CHRIST CHURCH, IPSWICH, THE SEAT OF THE REV. C. W. FONNEREAU. *facing* 120

From an engraving by E. Roberts after a drawing by I. Higham for Cromwell's "Excursions through Suffolk," pub. 1818.

Shows the Mansion (which had been built by Edmund Withipoll in 1548, upon or near the site of Holy Trinity Priory) at the time when it passed from the Rev. Claude Williams Fonnereau (d. 1817) to his son, the Rev. Charles William Fonnereau. The Mansion was presented to the borough by Mr. Felix T. Cobbold in 1894, when the corporation purchased the surrounding Park.

39. MAP OF THE LIBERTIES OF IPSWICH, 1812. *between* 120-121

Re-drawn from "A Map of the Liberties of Ipswich in the County of Suffolk, as ascertained by a Perambulation performed by the Bailiffs and other members of the Corporation, September 17th, 1812."

An inset states that "The district comprehending the Liberties of Ipswich is situated in the south-eastern part of the county. . . . Its greatest length, from Westerfield Wood, on the north, to

King John's Ness, on the south, is 5M. 1F. 30R. Its greatest breadth, from Spright's Lane, on the west, to the two-mile stone, Rushmere Heath, on the east, is 4M. 2F. 8R. Its circuit is 19M. 1F. 20R., and its superficial content 8,450 acres."

The map defines clearly the limits of the built-up area. It depicts the line of the roads into the town showing turnpikes and tollgates. It shows the junction of the Gipping with the Orwell before the Dock was made and the New Cut constructed in 1842, and marks the sites of the numerous windmills.

40. MEMORIAL BRASS TO JOHN AND MARTHA KNAPP AND THEIR CHILDREN, 1604. *facing* 121

From an etching by John Sell Cotman, 1817.

This brass in the south aisle of the chancel of St. Peter's church commemorates John Knapp, a merchant and portman, in ruff and fur-lined gown, and his wife in calash and embroidered petticoat, with four sons and eight daughters. Knapp had served both as bailiff and coroner. His large family continued to be connected with Ipswich for some time. Thus John Knapp, clothier, of Ipswich, and Robert Knapp, merchant, were trading here upon a large scale in "azures" and "violets," "felt-blues" and other cloths during the reign of James I.

41. CORNER POST OF THE "HALF MOON" PUBLIC HOUSE, LOWER BROOK STREET. *facing* 136

From drawings and etchings by Frederick Russel and Walter Hagreen.

The subject is the fable of the Fox and Geese, the fox robed as a priest preaching to a congregation of credulous geese.

42. HOUSE AND SHOP IN STAR LANE. *between* 136-137

From drawings and etchings by Frederick Russel and Walter Hagreen.

A typical example of an early Ipswich shop with overhanging upper storey used as a residence.

43. BUSINESS HOUSE IN THE BUTTER MARKET *between* 136-137

From a water-colour sketch by E. Pococke.

A typical business house with dwelling quarters in the two overhanging storeys above the shop.

44. CORNER OF THE CORNHILL AND TAVERN STREET *facing* 137

From a colotype reproduction of a drawing by George Frost, published by Frank Brown.

Showing part of the Rotunda built by Mr. Gooding in 1794 and removed in 1812 (c.f. No. 5).

TAIL PIECES

HEADS FROM THE 17TH CENTURY MARKET CROSS
(See No. 17). *Chapters I., V., VI., VII., VIII., and IX.*

MERCHANT'S MARK OF AUGUSTIN PARKER, GROCER AND MERCHANT ADVENTURER, ST. NICHOLAS, 1590. *Chapter II.*

MERCHANT'S MARK OF THOMAS DRAYLE, MERCHANT AND BAILIFF: ST. MARY TOWER, 1512. *Chapter III.*

THE MOOT HORN. *Chapter IV.*

Drawn by the Slader Studio from the original in Christchurch Mansion.

It was used for summoning courts and was sometimes called "the trump." The office of "blowing the trump" with the fees belonging was bestowed upon Philip Courtnall in 1624.

JACKET

DIAL LANE, 1830.

Engraving in the possession of the East Anglian Daily Times Co., Ltd.

PREFACE

EVERY town, like every human being, has a distinctive character, which is in part the result of past experiences. This book describes the events and developments which helped to make the borough of Ipswich what it is to-day.

An outline, such as this, perforce omits much detail. The bibliographies appended to each chapter are intended to help the reader who wishes to discover particulars about the history of individual districts, streets, buildings or movements. There is much to be done in this direction. The story of the outlying hamlets, or that of the relations between Ipswich and adjacent villages, comes at once to mind.

The town is very fortunate in its early historians. Nathaniel Bacon, its able and industrious Recorder, compiled from the corporation records his *Annalls of Ipswich* until the last day of January, 1649, and the execution of the reigning sovereign "put a sad period to his pen." The book was edited in 1884 by William H. Richardson, and typescript indexes exist in the Ipswich Borough Library. G. R. Clarke published his *History and Description of the Borough of Ipswich* in 1830, at a period of great importance in the history of the borough, since it preceded immediately the changes in government brought about by the Municipal Reform Act of 1835. His book is thus of special use for the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. John Wodderspoon's *Memorials of the Ancient Town of Ipswich*, published in 1850, is a more general account of the town's history and continues the story of its development into the new era created by the formation of the New Dock. Since 1850 no complete and general history of Ipswich has been undertaken, although many notable monographs have been written upon

particular subjects by such antiquaries as the two John Glydes, or Mr. B. P. Grimsey, of Stoke Lodge.

One of the reasons for this lack of a modern history is the very richness of the materials available. It is only necessary to study the lists set out under "Ipswich" in Volume III. of Copinger's *Suffolk Records* to realise the wealth of the original sources.

Foremost among these are the corporation records. The books, rolls, charters and letters, beginning with a borough court roll for 39-40, Henry III., and fully described by Mr. John Cordy Jeaffreson in the Appendix to the Ninth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical MSS. (1883), form an important, but imperfect, part of the borough archives. A few other documents have been recovered since the Report was compiled. Some very notable originals which have found their way to the British Museum include early copies and a translation of the borough Domesday Book (Egerton 2788, Add. 25011, 25012), besides Registers of Courts, 1415-1484, 1513-1520 (Add. 30, 158, 24, 435), Original Writs (Add. 21059) and some eighteenth century documents incorporated by the Town Clerk, William Batley, into his Collections for the History of Ipswich (Add. 25334-25337). The escape of some at least of these from official custody is plainly due to the machinations of the inveterate "collector" and postmaster, William Stevenson Fitch, from whose unrivalled accumulations deriving from municipal and other sources a mass of early Ipswich records has passed through the Phillipps Collection to the muniment room at Elveden Hall.

The extracts made from the corporation records by my father, the late Vincent B. Redstone, stress the social history of the town more strongly than do Bacon's *Annalls* and are available in the Ipswich Borough Library. I have made free use of these and of other notes which he gathered for over fifty years, generally from contemporary, original sources. It is not possible, in such a book as this, to give the authority for each statement, but I

should point out that the account in Chapter II. of the connexions of John Chaucer, the father of the Poet, with Ipswich is a summary of conclusions which my father and I finally reached just before his death in 1941. They are fully supported by the evidences which remain with the University of Chicago, but vary slightly from accounts previously published by himself or by the late Professor John Manly, under whom his latest investigations were made, the differences being mainly due to revisions in the dating of certain documents. It is unfortunate that these fresh evidences, and indeed some that were published before, were clearly not before Mr. H. S. Bennett when he stated in his recent outstanding work, *Chaucer and the Fifteenth Century*, that Chaucer's father and step-grandfather both traded as vintners in Ipswich. Our new knowledge may, however, bring the poet himself into a new relation with the Ipswich neighbourhood; for it would indeed be strange if his own early career in the households of the Earl of Ulster and of Edward III. had been entirely unaffected by the service of Robert de Beverley, of Bramford under the Earl, and of Beverley's wife in the household of Queen Philippa.

The somewhat unusual plan of the book will, I trust, satisfy the needs of several kinds of reader. The general account of the growth of the town, occupying the first three chapters, is followed by descriptions of the main phases in its history. The chronology has been prepared in course of writing and is printed as a consolation for those who prefer their history by date. The index of main subjects should also be of use in that respect. Such a book as this can only give examples. The comment added to the list of illustrations provides some of the particular detail, which has perforce been omitted from the general text. Ipswich still lacks a detailed topography.

This book could not have been produced without the generous co-operation of Miss Dorothy White, Chief Librarian of the

Borough Libraries, or the willing help given by her staff, to whom I would express my thanks, both formal and personal. My gratitude is also due, and is here offered, to Messrs. Garrod, Turner and Son, for the use of their valuation books towards Chapter IX.: to the Governors of Christchurch, Oxford, for permission to reproduce their portrait of Cardinal Wolsey; to Messrs. Ransomes, Sims and Jefferies, Ltd., for the picture of the Skittle Alley; and to Mr. A. R. Pearce for his patient and skilled assistance in the provision of the maps and especially for preparing the plan of Ipswich in 1325.

LILIAN J. REDSTONE

Woodbridge.
September, 1948.

Chapter I

INTRODUCTORY: BEGINNINGS OF IPSWICH

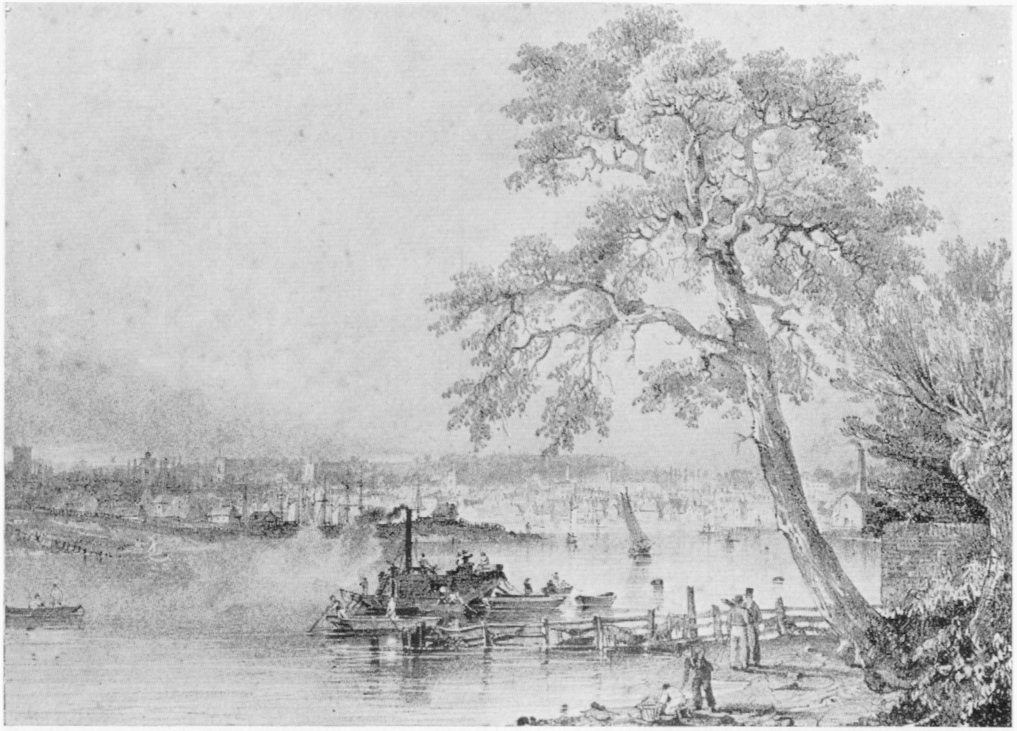
THE people of present day Ipswich, in number more than one hundred thousand, have their homes on the hills north and east of the town and on the western flats, where an entirely new settlement has recently developed above the junction of the fresh waters of the River Gipping with the tidal waters of the Orwell. The business and shopping centre for the whole population is the ancient medieval town at the foot of the hills, forming a rough semi-circle, with the southern base on the left bank of the Orwell, and the eastern and western flanks covered by factories and warehouses, which follow the curving line of the river and railway. Upon the opposite side of the river, the ancient village of Stoke is to Ipswich what medieval Southwark was to the City of London, a suburban bridgehead with industries and wharves of its own, but lying within the Liberties of the borough.

The neighbourhood has always attracted human beings, because of the position and because of the numerous springs of fresh water on the hill sides. The first traces of man belong to a period even earlier than the Old Stone Age, and the first-known resident, whose body was buried in a crouching position above the Gipping in the valley now occupied by the Dales Road brickfield, lived in the latter part of that age, in a time between the last two periods of extreme cold in this country. The earliest known building stood in that same valley. It was a rough wind-screen which men of the Stone Age made as a shelter as they shaped their axes and arrows of flint from a pile of stones lying before them. Thus from the very first, Ipswich has been a place for industry.

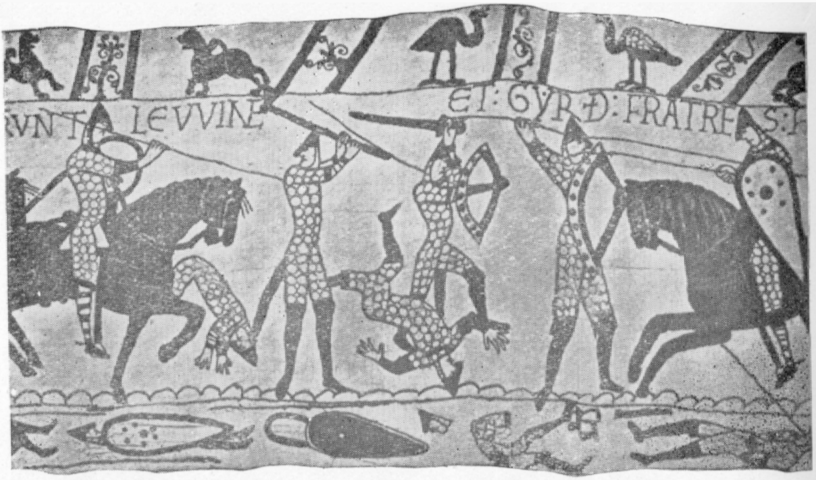
Successive races occupied the neighbourhood. Men of the Bronze Age lie buried on the surrounding heathlands. Romans, perhaps officials of some kind, lived in a "villa" or homestead at Castle Hill, Whitton, off the present road from London to Norwich, which passes through the western parts of the town. Romans buried their dead in the northern portion of the (present) Dales Road brickfield valley for some two hundred years. They possibly settled also upon the lower land near the river, until they were driven out by invading Angles, who came up the Orwell despite the Roman garrisons in the fort at Walton near the mouth of the estuary.

These Angles certainly settled on the high ground of the peninsula then made by the marshes and ditches of the Gipping on the west, the stream which gave its name to Brook Street on the east and a sharply curving reach of the River Orwell, now Ipswich Dock, on the south. They buried their dead in large numbers beyond the right bank of the Gipping between the present Hadleigh Road and the way from London to Norwich which crosses the river nearby at "Handford."

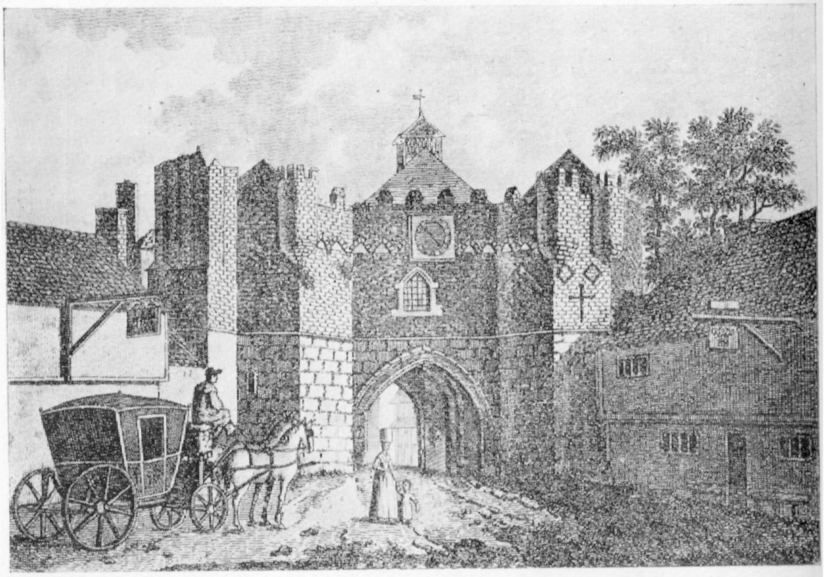
The Angles in their turn suffered bitterly at the hand of the invader. The Vikings who stole up the Orwell time and again, spoiled and burned the Anglian settlement, whether they came upon mere raids, or to gain access to the Midlands. War did not cease even under the Danish king of East Anglia, Guthrum. Neighbouring Danes who raided the shores of Kent brought upon themselves the vengeance of King Alfred, whose fleet entered the lower waters of the Orwell and Stour, defeating and plundering Danish vessels; but Alfred's ships were themselves overcome on the return voyage by a second Danish fleet. Thus Ipswich continued to share the changing fortunes of Angle and Dane. It was ravaged in 991 by the Vikings who, proceeding southwards, slew the heroic Ealdorman Byrtnoth at Maldon. These were the raids which induced the sufferers to raise Danegeld in a vain attempt to buy off the enemy. The local rulers,



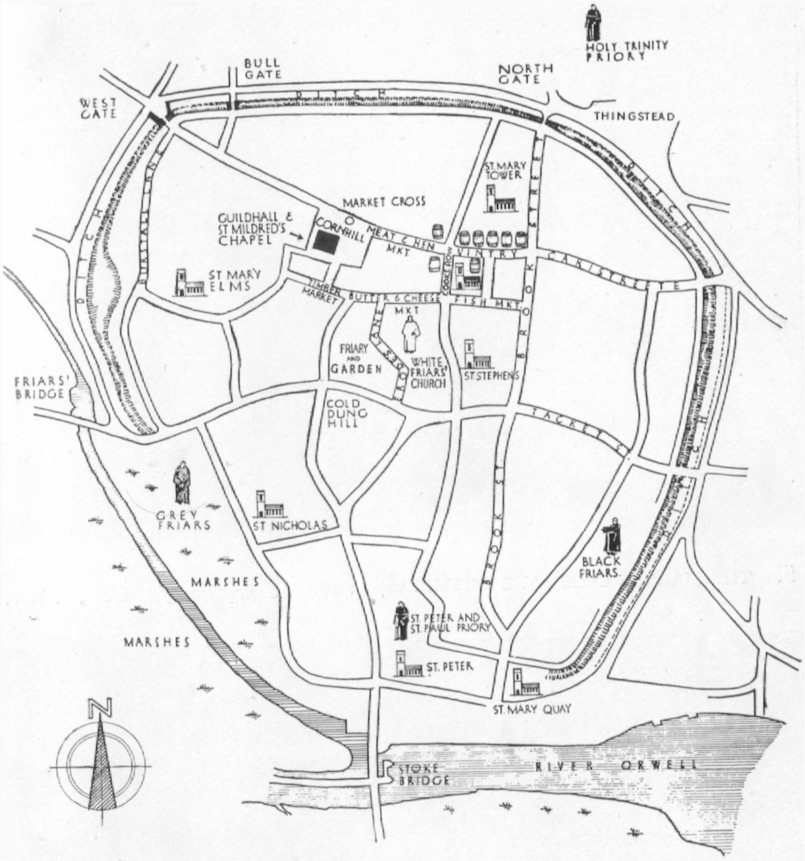
1. IPSWICH FROM THE CLIFF. *From a sketch by the Rev. Richard Cobbold.*



2. EARL GYRTH AT HASTINGS, 1066. *From the Bayeux Tapestry.*



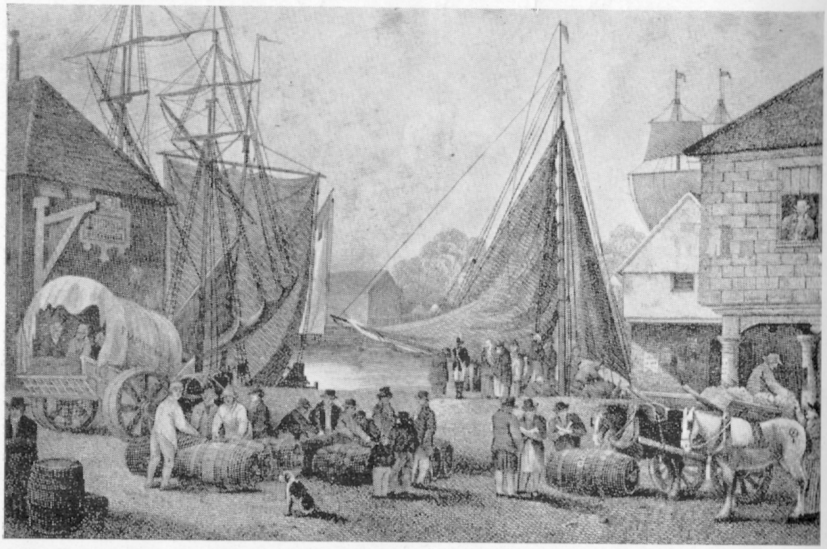
3. THE WEST GATE, 1769. *From an engraving by Godfrey.*



4. IMAGINARY PLAN OF IPSWICH, 1325.

Drawn by A. R. Pearce, A.R.I.B.A.

5. THE MARKET CROSS AND SHAMBLES, 1780. *Engraving after George Frost.*



6. THE COMMON QUAY. *Engraving after George Frost.*

however, were always too late in offering this tribute to the raiders, or in deciding to stand and fight. The Danish host which visited East Anglia from Kent in 1010, led by Thurkill the Tall, stormed Ipswich as a first step towards over-running the country, making their way north-west to defeat the levies under Ulfketel the Snelling at Ringmere Pit near Thetford. Six years later, the Danish leader, Cnut, having failed to seize London, brought his ships up the Orwell, overcoming Ipswich and East Anglia, where he left Thurkill to rule while he ravaged the Midlands and by force and by cunning obtained the kingdom. Ipswich was thus at last completely within the English kingdom. But the town kept its own customs, whether Anglian or Danish, and some of these, such as the right of the boy of twelve to deal with his property on proving that he could reckon and measure, have lasted almost to our own day.

The place retained its Anglo-Saxon name of "Gipes Wic" the dwelling of Gipi. Within its bounds are two "Wicks" Below on the Orwell lies the "Green Wich." In the reign of Edward the Confessor one of the two granges called "Wicks" belonged to his queen, Edith. The other, of less extent, belonged to her brother, Earl Gyrth. They shared the profits from 538 burgesses, who gained a livelihood from trade and from the cultivation of the land. Gyrth took one-third, his portion as Earl of the East Angles. Another large hamlet with St. Peter's was given by the Confessor to Aluric, father of Wisgar, the powerful lord of the town of Clare. The burgesses must have had their homes by the waterside. Freemen and villeins and the half-free tilled the ploughed land on the hillsides which stretched to the borders of the half hundred of Ipswich. Portions of the surrounding parishes, such as Westerfield and a township called Thurleston, extended into the half hundred. Sheep and goats and some plough-beasts grazed on the hills or in the marshes. The lords of quite distant townships had power over one burgess

or another. Thus some men owed service to the lord of East Bergholt nearly ten miles away on the Essex border. The village of Stoke was owned by the monks of Ely beyond the Cambridgeshire border.

Ipswich was thus a complex and prosperous settlement when William the Norman landed in 1066. The traders and husbandmen owed duties to this lord or that, and paid to Queen Edith and to Earl Gyrth the royal rent of honey and fifteen pounds in cash. Twenty years later the town lay desolate. The exact cause is unknown. Did the Normans avenge themselves upon the men of Earl Gyrth, since their lord's arrow had slain Duke William's horse before he himself had fallen in single combat with the duke? Or were their homes burnt in the last Danish raid when Sweyn of Denmark sailed up the Orwell in 1069, and was driven from the Ipswich neighbourhood by Roger Bigod, Robert Malet and Ralph Wader? These things may never be known; but certain it is that when Domesday Book was compiled in 1086 only 110 of the burgesses left in the town could pay their customary dues to the king, and another hundred were so poor that they could afford only one penny a year to the custom, while 328 homes which in King Edward's time had paid scot towards the king's geld now lay entirely waste. There were numerous churches, it is true. A dozen or so, built for the men of one lord or another, were standing. The people of Ipswich may have been daunted by many disasters; they were certainly very devout. They had passed from government by the Saxon queen and earl to the hands of Roger Bigod the sheriff, who held the borough on behalf of the new Norman king.

Prosperity returned to the borough within the next hundred years. Henry I's Keepers of the Sea assembled at this port to draw up the first naval Ordinances for conduct aboard

ship. It was a flourishing community of merchants which acquired a charter from King John in the May of 1200. New homes were then being made on the eastern side of the quays and the new parish church of St. Clement's was founded for these by one, Rothulf, before the year 1236. During the following five centuries, houses and shops multiplied within the crowded half-circle around the markets and quays, and just within the earthen ramparts or walls which were flung up as a protection in 1203. Some such ramparts may have existed before. These were made in 1203 with aid from the men of Cambridgeshire as well as of Suffolk. A second grant of murage was made by Edward I. in 1299.

The ramparts were topped by a palisade of timber which appears on the monumental tablet of William Smart who died a few years before order was taken in 1603 to enclose the ditches on either side with a wooden pale, through which residents in the neighbouring houses could pass by means of gates, generally kept locked. There had been some intention of erecting a stone wall during the alarms of the Hundred Years' War; but the occasion never arose, although in 1352 steps were taken to strengthen the earthen ramparts against invasion. The bailiffs collected for this purpose many halfpennies and farthings levied on goods as they entered the town gates; a farthing from every packload or a halfpenny from every cartload of corn, a halfpenny from every load of meat, fresh or salt, a farthing from every hundred skins of lambs, kids, hares, rabbits, foxes, cats or squirrels coming to the Ipswich tanneries, 2d. on every two thousand of rushes for strewing floors or thatching roofs, 2d. on every bundle of cloth coming by cart, and so on, some small contribution from everything entering for the market or the port.

The entries to the town were guarded by gates, north, south, east and west. The West Gate was the most important,

since through it travellers entered the town from London and from Norwich. This gate, sometimes called St. Matthew's Gate, was converted in 1334 into a "New Gaol," and its upper story was also used for a town gaol in 1448.

St. Matthew's parish lay within and without the ramparts, and others of the parishes were served by churches lying just without the walls, such as St. Margaret's outside the North Gate, St. Helen's to the north-east and St. Mary Stoke across the river. These parishes with their chapelries, such as Cauldwell on the hills to the north-east, lay within the "liberties" of the half-hundred. Parts of the parishes of Rushmere, Thurleston and Westerfield, villages lying on the outer fringes, extended into the half hundred. It also included the hamlets of Wicks Ufford and Wicks Bishop, representing respectively the grange of Earl Gyrth which passed to the Uffords, Earls of Suffolk, and the grange of Queen Edith, which was granted by Richard I. to the Bishop of Norwich and gave the name to "Bishop's Hill."

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Chapter II

IPSWICH WITHIN THE RAMPARTS

MEDIEVAL Ipswich had two business centres, the one upon rising ground where country produce was marketed on the open Corn Hill and along the main streets, the other at the river level where a flourishing overseas traffic, stimulated by proximity to the Netherlands, was handled at the Common Quay and other small wharves.

The great corn market brought in a profit of £25 a year in 1340. Nearby was the meat market, and along the streets eastwards apples and fish, cheese and butter, poultry and pots were sold from rows of stalls standing in front of the shops or houses, taverns or churchyards, and occupying what was once the verge of rural lanes. The bailiffs and commonalty saw to it that trade was strictly regulated. They also rendered a swift and sure justice. Maude Alizoun of Shelland benefited by this when she brought her little flock, two muttons and two ewes, to sell in the town in 1325. At Brookes, just without the rampart, they were stolen by one, John dil Boure, of the distant village of Elmswell. He drove them to the Beast Market to sell; but Maude followed him hot-foot, from way to way, and in the market accused him face to face. The Ipswich jurors found him guilty, and so he was hanged upon the borough gallows.

The Meat Market, Poultry and Vintry occupied the main street of the town now known as Tavern Street. Taverns lined the Vintry on either side of the street and there was great resort to their drinking cellars. These taverns, for wholesale trade as well as for retail, belonged to Ipswich men of repute, such as Philip Harneys, who owned the Holly Tavern at the west

corner of the present Dial Lane. The Malyn family owned properties on either side of the street as well as along Brook (now Northgate) Street at right angles. Two corner taverns of the Hen Market (later Tower Street) facing respectively on the Fleshmarket and on the Poultry belonged in the uneasy reign of Edward II. to a sister and brother, Agnes and Robert, members of that family.

Robert followed the trade of vintner in London where he became a citizen and died young. Disputes arose about his tavern (where there now stands the British Home Stores) and as to the guardianship of his young son, John. Agnes would willingly have contrived to marry the boy to her own daughter, Joan, so consolidating the two properties. She made her way to London, accompanied by the Ipswich Bailiff, Geoffrey Stace, and others, and kidnapped her nephew from his home in Watling Street, where he was living with his mother, Mary, and Mary's third husband, Richard, also engaged in the wine-trade. Agnes carried the boy back with her on 3 December, 1324; but before the desired marriage could take place his step-father and an elder half-brother hastened to Ipswich from London, forced their way into Agnes' house, and recovered the young heir, who was sent with his half-brother to the Scottish wars, far away from his aunt's reach.

The cousin found another husband, Robert de Beverley, lord of Beverleys in the neighbouring village of Bramford, and entered the royal household as demoiselle to Queen Philippa, while her husband served in the Irish wars and in the household of Lionel Earl of Ulster. Her mother, with the Bailiff, tried for the abduction, set up as their defence that the boy, although only twelve, was of age according to the custom of Ipswich. Nevertheless they were sentenced to pay damages to the (then) enormous sum of £250. Their attempts to reverse this judgment brought them up against privileges claimed by the City of London. They were thrown into prison and returned to Ipswich

as husband and wife. In spite of the crippling damages demanded from them they succeeded in purchasing a part at least of the boy's inheritance.

The boy, John, himself grew up to be John "le Chaucer," citizen and vintner of London, taking his surname from the traffic in *chausses*, which for a time vintners had carried as deck cargoes upon their wine-ships. His father, Robert, had sometimes been styled "Robert of Ipswich called le Chaucer." The name crystallised, in the case of John's son Geoffrey, into the simple surname "Chaucer." This Geoffrey, the greatest of English poets, even if he never visited his father's home town, may well have been advanced in the royal households through the influence of the Beverleys of Bramford. Who can doubt that his works have the full flavour of the life of the Vintries of Ipswich and London, or of the quayside in the Port of Orwell, with which his merchant with the forked beard and Flandrish beaver hat was so familiar?

The port of Ipswich had been frequented by a cosmopolitan crowd in the thirteenth century. The wine-merchant from Bordeaux rubbed shoulders with such traders as Ingelbrond and Lodowic of Hamburg, importers of timber and iron, lances and shields and horses' hides, or with Hildebrond Scone merchant of Cologne, or Ingram the French merchant from Abbeville, or Senche Pores, master of a Spanish vessel in port. Ipswich merchants then took their goods, chiefly wool and hides, corn and cheese, to Brittany in return for salt, or to the Low Countries, whence they brought back finished cloth.

Times were rough, even for peaceable traders, and a man's enemies might pursue him, as they did Master Halteby, so far as to the gates of Calais to attack. Regular trade is, however, implied by the readiness of a Bordeaux merchant, Markesius de Markesio, to sell wine in 1297 upon credit to one Roger Blome, master of an Ipswich ship, taking as security a bond of

£36 13s. 4d. upon the vessel.

The fourteenth century brought two remarkable changes to the port. The growth of the cloth-industry filled the holds of the outgoing ships with local kerseys or lindsey-woolsies. The Hundred Years' War with the capture of Calais, gave a different angle to trade. Yet Chaucer's pompous merchant still had good reason to wish the sea were kept for anything betwixt Middelburg and Orwell, and for a short time, in 1404, and again in 1464, Ipswich was appointed one of the few places for exporting wool to the Continent.

A new venture began for Ipswich merchants quite early in the fifteenth century, when they began to send their ships on the Long Iceland Voyage. These fishing voyages were shared by Dutchmen living in the town. Henry Gotkens, who was buried in the Black Friars' Church about 1487, left to Henry Withebek 300 fish besides his own share of those brought from Iceland, and also bequeathed his robe and shoes to another Dutchman, Michael van Langen.

The town's great benefactor, Henry Tooley, who lies buried in St. Mary Quay, frequently sent his ship, the Mary Walsingham, "by the Grace of God Icelandward." Much detailed care was needed in hiring crew, fitting them out with shirts and jerkins, boots and slops, and providing food and beer, cables and anchors and also ordnance. Upon occasion, Tooley bargained with the shipmaster and his company to take the Mary Walsingham to Iceland upon a contract which was based upon the quantity of salt provided, namely 18 wey, furnishing to every wey a quarter of wheat, two pipes of beer, and two flitches of bacon, for provisions, besides for ordnance one great "piece" and two serpentines, and arms for the men, and a kettle for their porridge. Upon the good ship's return there was the business of selling her cargo of stockfish to London merchants at St. Gregory's Fair in Sudbury, or to the Suffolk

7. THE ANCIENT HOUSE, BUTTER MARKET.

From an early water-colour in the Cullum Library, Bury St. Edmunds.

8. THE NEPTUNE INN, FORE STREET.

From a water-colour by E. Pococke.

gentry. These were also customers for the wines which Tooley imported from Gascony and despatched to Lavenham for "my Lord of Oxford," to Hawstead for Sir William Drury, to Sibton for "my Lord Abbot" or even as far as to the innkeeper of the "Swan" at Lowestoft. Tooley also dealt in canvas and cloth, buying in 1545 four deep blues at £4 13s. 4d. the cloth, two broad cloths at the same price and a "new colour cloth called a medley."

Such Ipswich merchants received large credits from the Suffolk clothiers, and in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries distributed Suffolk cloth widely to Vigo, Barbary or Muscovy, as well as to the Spanish Netherlands, despite embargoes. By this time the semi-rural character of the town was changing. Many houses had been built along the edges of crofts and gardens, so that lanes became streets. Sites upon the waste lands owned by the borough had been let to numerous private tenants. When the cloth trade reached its zenith at the opening of the sixteenth century men of wealth and fashion added their mansions to the pleasant residences of the wealthy merchants. Curson House with spacious parlours and hall built round a courtyard at the south-east corner of the present Silent Street and Rose Lane (then Curson Lane) was the home of a count of the Holy Roman Empire, Robert styled "Lord" Curson, who lived here in state with his yeomen and servants, his wife, Dame Margery, and her three gentlewomen, and two chaplains to serve the chapel within the large garden. This great house became later a residence for the bishops of Norwich and, during the Dutch wars, a hospital for the wounded. Another mansion in Tacket Street, was occupied by Sir Anthony Wingfield, Knight of the Garter, and Vice-chamberlain to Henry VIII. Its rooms of panelled oak were ornamented with wings displayed, well-known charges upon the Wingfield arms.

Fresh sites were brought into the market when the Ipswich

priories were dissolved at the Reformation. The precincts of Christchurch, or Trinity Priory, just without the North Gate, were purchased by a London merchant in 1545. Edmund Withypoll, the new owner, was a true product of the Renaissance, a cultured and passionate man, who having slain his French serving man at his home in Walthamstow, was glad to forsake that place for the typical E-shaped Tudor mansion, which he built in Ipswich.

A large site on the south side of Westgate Street and just within the gates, was chosen by Thomas Seckford, a cadet of the old-established Seckfords of Seckford Hall, for the erection of his "Great House" in this town. Seckford was Member of Parliament for the borough and as Master of the Court of Requests was a frequent adviser to the corporation. He had amassed a fortune in his busy life as Surveyor of the Court of Wards and Liveries and extolled the virtue of industry in the mottoes used upon maps made at his cost by Christopher Saxton for the first county atlas of England. His Ipswich mansion, with its curious cupola-like turrets overtopping the houses around, passed to two of his brothers, both deeply engaged in privateering, although the one was Master of the Tents to Queen Elizabeth and a groom of her chamber.

Ipswich tradesmen enlarged their houses within the town as things prospered with them. The well-known "Ancient House" in the Butter Market grew thus piecemeal. The first great hall open to its hammer-beam roof ornamented with carved angels, probably goes back to the time when the building was occupied by the Fastolf family of Cowhaw, descendants of King Hal's comrade, Sir John. It was the wardship of young Thomas Fastolf of this family which gave rise to the feuds described in the letters of the Paston family. This Thomas Fastolf in 1483 added to the property a strip of common soil which fronted upon the then Fishmarket. A successor, apparently George Copping,

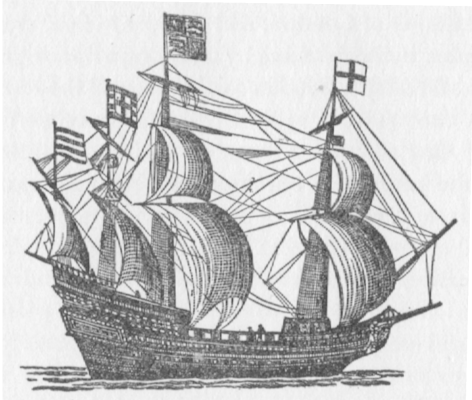
citizen and draper of London, and a trader in fish, created a great upper chamber in the dwelling by throwing a floor right across the great hall, and added a wooden corridor round the rear, extending the back of the premises to St. Stephen's churchyard.

Copping died somewhat impoverished and a little time after his death the house was purchased by William Sparrowe, who converted it to a business in groceries and spices and secured the removal of the Fishmarket further east towards Brook Street. It was Copping who wainscotted the rooms and hung them round with stained cloths of which one, part of the story of Hercules, still exists.

The gorgeous pargetting of the exterior was the work of the Sparrowe family, who added the bold symbols of four continents, Africa upon a crocodile and the strong archer, America, accompanied by a crouching bison. To these vigorous figures, Robert Sparrowe, loyal supporter of the Stuarts, added the arms of Charles II., soon after the Restoration, and the Sparrowe family, still owners of the property, have long held traditions of their services to that monarch after the rout at Worcester.

Such were the tradesmen's homes. The merchants built theirs near the quayside, especially in the parish of St. Clement's and about Fore Street, in the district where still stands the "Neptune" Inn, which was a dwelling house long before its new front was added in 1639. In the same region was the Eldred House, home of Thomas Eldred, mariner, and possibly also of his father, Thomas Eldred, chandler, who ventured with Thomas Cavendish through the Straits of Magellan and was one of the fifty men to survive the hardness and dangers of this second English voyage round the world, returning to England in the ship "Desire."

Relics of the Eldred House, now at Christchurch Mansion, include the chimney piece with three panels, the one con-



9. *Thomas Eldred's Ship.*

taining Eldred's portrait, the others a ship and globe, with the legend:—

HE THAT TRAVELS YE WORLD ABOUT
SEETH GODS WONDERS AND GODS WORKS.
THOMAS ELDRED TRAVELLED YE WORLD ABOUT;
AND WENT OUT OF PLIMOUTH YE 21 OF JULY 1586, AND
ARRIVED IN PLIMOUTH AGAIN THE 9 OF SEPTEMBER, 1588.

A similar series of panels now in the possession of the Harrison family depicts the ship, as it is here, and portrays Eldred as an older man (see above, page 8).

No wonder that in the midst of this Tudor prosperity two Ipswich merchants, John Johnson and Christopher Goodwyn, proposed to make this the one free mart for their known world, to supplant Antwerp and the Low Countries. But the discreet statecraft of Lord Burleigh weighed high politics against the enthusiasm of the local merchants, pointing out that Spain and France, the Pope and the Emperor had only to combine to lay an embargo upon the port and the whole project would be ruined.

Besides, Ipswich men generally did not favour such internationalism. Goodwyn might have his prentices free both sides of the seas and beyond; the plan which he advocated would increase the growing number of the alien residents, such as Johnson. The town was full enough of Flemings who had drifted here since the fifteenth century, marrying Ipswich brides and occupying themselves with such industries as beerbrewing, carving and hatmaking, rather than with weaving.

The native industry of weaving had been growing in Ipswich at least since 1282. In the Tudor period, the clothworkers in the borough endeavoured to centralise and control the industry. Ordinances for the Ipswich clothworkers were drawn up in 1590; the clothworkers and the taylors were incorporated by charter in 1619.

The chief agents for selling the output of these clothworkers and of many who organised the making of cloth in the numerous Suffolk weaving villages were the Ipswich merchants. The cloth market in the town itself had been moved in 1447 from the narrow quarters in St. Lawrence Lane to more spacious premises above and below the Moot Hall. The Suffolk clothiers gave large credits to the Ipswich merchants, who sold their wares in the Low Countries and elsewhere. When the grasping policy of the clothworkers and the restrictive controls of the Stuart monarchy killed the overseas markets for Suffolk cloths, the Ipswich merchant fell first. Clothiers of a dozen or so Suffolk towns are said to have lost over £30,000 through the bankruptcy of Ipswich merchants in the one year 1622. The era of Ipswich Tudor prosperity thus ended in a period of ruin.

Some of the alien population in the sixteenth century had been religious refugees from the Low Countries. A century later, from about 1681 onwards, several short-lived attempts were made to establish linen, silk, and woollen weaving in the town, partly with a view to employing Huguenots from France upon the making

of linens and silks, partly in the hope of occupying both natives and Huguenots in the weaving of woollens. Each attempt failed in its turn.

Neither did the port recover prosperity. Shipbuilding and allied industries flourished for a time during the Dutch wars; but the development of a naval dockyard at Harwich and the subsequent removal of the customs to that port, damaged the position of Ipswich.

During the 18th century, the Orwell was rapidly silting up. By 1744 no vessels of any size could reach the Ipswich quays; they must needs load and unload by lighter below the town at Downham Bridge. Sir James Thornhill, writing in 1711, could with a semblance of truth describe Ipswich as a town without people, having a river without water, and streets without names. The friendlier Defoe coloured his description written in 1722 with a rosy memory of the coal-trade carried on by Ipswich "cats" fifty years before, and was still impressed with the town's plentiful markets, its cheap living and the well-informed and entertaining company which he there met. The more downright Celia Fiennes ascribed the town's obvious decay to the sloth of its inhabitants.

Who shall say which of these critics was right? The character of Ipswich was in truth rapidly changing. Commerce with the Continent was giving way to a carrying trade dependent upon the phenomenal growth of London, which drew large supplies of Suffolk produce through this port. The government of the borough was rent by factions placing party before the town's welfare. The only remains of the flourishing cloth trade were poor spinners who produced yarn to be made up into cloth at Norwich.

The great Tudor houses were let out into tenements and fell into decay. Seckford House was partly demolished in 1744, when owned and mortgaged by a carpenter or housebuilder. Curson House was in a ruinous condition by 1764, and the

remains of Wingfield House had by then become the "Tankard" Inn.

Out of the great Tudor mansions, only Christchurch Mansion, bought by Claude Fonnereau in 1732 and inhabited by his descendants until its purchase and gift to the town in 1894, and the "Ancient" or "Sparrowe" House, preserved as business premises, have survived.

The very ramparts which had so long protected the heart of the borough, fell into decay during this period of eighteenth century depression. They had long been partly obliterated by leases for residences and industries. At the outbreak of the Civil Wars consultations were held with engineers from Colchester about the fortifying of the town, passages through the ditches were stopped, and a gate was set upon Friars' Bridge, the approach from the western marshes.

But Ipswich escaped from any such siege as battered Colchester. The West, or St. Matthew's Gate, which had been put to peaceful uses as a gaol and a clock-tower, was put up for sale in 1781 and the North Gate was pulled down in 1794. The sale of parts of the ditches had begun at least by 1716. By 1830, only fragments of those known as "Tower Ditches" and "St. Margaret's Ditches" remained in view, and with further building these have become mere names. The medieval walled town was ripe for development into a modern centre of industry.

Merchant's mark of Augustin Parker, 1590.

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Chapter III

INCREASE THROUGH INDUSTRY

THE most remarkable fact in the history of Ipswich is the rapid development of the medieval river-port, which in1801 had a population of scarcely more than 11,000, into a large commercial and industrial town now numbering more than 100,000. And the growth is the more remarkable because it happened at a time when the national economy was becoming dependent upon coal and iron, materials which are entirely lacking in the neighbourhood.

The recovery of the town from its depression was due in the first instance to natural advantages of the site intensified by wartime conditions in the Napoleonic era; but the striking progress which followed was the work of human acumen and enterprise.

From the 1740's to the 1840's the industries natural to a town set upon a waterway in the midst of a well-wooded corn country were encouraged by the need of the Navy, especially in wartime, and of London at all times for the wheat, butter, flour and malt which were readily supplied from Ipswich by an almost unrivalled sea-route.

Cobbett remarked in 1830 that wheat from Ipswich sometimes commanded 6s. a quarter more than that from Norwich because of the speed and safety of navigation to London. The ancient water mills at Handford and Stoke were supplemented in his time by seventeen white windmills on the hillsides and near the port, their black sails twirling all together adding to the beauty of the scene.

Suffolk barley, too, was brought to Ipswich, where good air and the advantages of free space enabled the maltsters to deal

with it in large quantities, sending their produce to London by barge. Ipswich also brewed its own beer, aided by the good water from its plentiful springs, particularly at Holy Wells, where the Cobbold family owned estates previously part of the ancient hamlet of Wicks Episcopi. This specially pure water was sent downstream to the Cobbolds' breweries at Harwich, until in 1746 the business was transferred to the Cliff near Holy Wells, where the brewery developed piecemeal in the following century and was entirely rebuilt in 1894.

Timber in quantity was available as well as corn. Great quantities were shipped to the naval dockyards at Chatham. Shipyards at Ipswich also used it on the spot, turning out frigates at John's Ness on the left bank of the river and great ships at the Nova Scotia and Halifax yards on the other bank, culminating in the East Indiaman, the "Orwell," of 1,400 ton, which was launched at the Halifax yard in 1817, in the presence of great crowds. Chaise and saddlehorse, wagon and tumbril, brought in the sightseers from villages for twenty miles around on this occasion.

Among the earliest industries to come into the town were paper making and the tobacco industry. But the "Anglesey" paper mills, which originated in Kent and manufactured chiefly brown paper, were entirely destroyed by fire in 1848.

The most influential immigrant was Robert Ransome, a maker of agricultural implements, who in 1789, having taken out a patent for tempering cast-iron plough-shares, removed himself and his small business from Norwich to a skittle alley in St. Margaret's Ditches, Ipswich, where he set up his foundry with a capital of £200 and aided by a single workman. The works, thus established in the centre of a great agricultural district and benefiting by the inventive genius of the proprietor, whose patents for agricultural implements carried his name and

his goods far beyond the confines of the county or indeed of England, prospered and spread, eventually stretching from Colman Street to Carr Street along what is now the Old Foundry Road.

The modern inventions introduced included the first steam engine in 1831, and a gasometer which occupied the Carr Street corner. In 1822, the Ipswich Gas Light Company was incorporated with shareholders including twelve of the Ransome family, sixteen of the Alexanders, who were bankers and (like the Ransomes) Quakers, six of the Cobbold family and five of the Cubitts. William Cubitt, a partner in the foundry, then became engineer to the new gas company, before entering upon his long and successful career in engineering railways in England and abroad. Before leaving Ransomes' he had designed a bridge of cast-iron to replace at Stoke a stone bridge which was broken by floods in 1818. The firm of Ransomes' itself removed to the riverside in 1837, and their "Orwell Works", with the long stretch of "Ransomes' Wharf", occupied one side of the new wet dock which was constructed in 1842. Railway engineering was then already occupying the firm; and in 1869 this side of the business was transferred to a new company of Ransomes and Rapier, whose works were established on the opposite bank of the river.

Ipswich industries could thus expand only because of enormous improvements in its waterways, and because a railway was constructed with its traffic centre near the port. The silting of the harbour had reached a serious stage by the end of the eighteenth century. The River Gipping was canalised under an Act of 1793, chiefly promoted by two country gentlemen, so that the country produce could be carried downstream from Stowmarket and coal could pass upstream into the heart of the county.

But the ancient quays of Ipswich still did not serve for modern traffic. In 1805, River Commissioners were appointed by an act for improving the port, and they enabled vessels of 200 ton

burden to use the quays; but the facilities for landing goods were still quite inadequate for the growing industrial traffic. Proposals to dam the stream at Downham Reach met with apathy and opposition, At length, in November 1836, a great meeting of merchants and gentry resolved to support legislation enabling new Dock Commissioners to deepen the old channel next the town as a great new dock, and to make a new channel for the Gipping and the tidal waters of the Orwell upon the opposite side. The new wet dock thus created was at the time the largest in England.

The opening up of railway communication was effected within a few years of the opening (in 1842) of the dock. That Ipswich became a railway centre at all was due to the enterprise of John Chevallier Cobbold, Member of Parliament for the borough, and the ingenuity of the Ipswich engineer, Peter Bruff. They continued the Eastern Counties Railway from Colchester as the Eastern Union Railway in 1846, constructed the Ipswich and Bury St Edmunds' Railway, opened in December of that year, amalgamated that company, and with it the Gipping Navigation, with the Eastern Union in 1847, and carried the Eastern Union to Norwich in 1849. The main lines were completed with the linking up with Beccles some ten years later.

Ipswich thus became the nerve centre of the railway system in Suffolk. While the lines were under construction the Ipswich man of business was already able to get his day in London by leaving in the Quicksilver Coach from the Suffolk Hotel at seven in the morning, boarding the Eastern Counties' train at Colchester and returning at night by the same route. His goods could travel in the same way, carried to Colchester by Noller's Spring Vans from the Queen's Head twice a week; or upon every other day he might send into the country by Smith's Wagons from Carr Street.

Ipswich industries passed into a new phase of their existence with the linking up of communications by rail and by water.

There was now no limitation to the supplies of raw materials, nor to the distance to which goods could be sent. Timber merchants secured the appointment of Ipswich as a port for foreign timber. The new docks and their warehouses accommodated all kinds of foreign wares especially from the East Indies. The corn merchant no longer restricted himself to exporting or treating the grain grown in Suffolk. The firm founded by Robert Paul, who, springing from a family of ironmongers in Bury, set up as a brewer in Foundation Street when the new dock was under way, and subsequently became both corn merchant and wharfinger, is a noteworthy example. The business expanded to include the malting of barley brought from the Pacific Coast, or from the Sea of Marmora, and the supply of feeding stuffs from distant countries to the Suffolk farmer.

Other similar examples were the firms engaged in manufacturing chemical fertilisers. These, having started with local coprolite as their raw materials, now draw their supplies from many parts of the world. Their several comparatively small factories for manufacturing superphosphates spread for the most part along the Gipping valley, finding an outlet for their produce through the port of Ipswich, until, amalgamating and trading as Fisons Ltd., they now own factories all over England and Scotland and an imposing factory upon the Cliff above the Orwell.

These developments made Ipswich grow, during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, at a rate which was at first about five thousand in each decade, but in the 1840's as a result of the opening of the new docks and the railway reached about seven thousand in the ten years.

As warehouses and mills by the waterside grew in spaciousness and rose in height, until to-day they overtop the towers of the old quayside churches, the dockers and railwaymen were housed in packed streets of uniform grey brick houses, and clerks found

their homes in newly-built red brick villas on the Stoke side of the water or upon the slopes of the hills. The picturesque jumble of lath and plaster buildings and the shallow-carved timbers of Tudor houses began to disappear altogether, giving way to rows of uniform houses, such as those which line "Commercial Road", aptly named since it fronts the River Orwell and the goods yards.

For the whole reason underlying this modern riverport town is the same commerce by water with the outside world, which had brought business to the three small quays of medieval Ipswich, the Common Quay, Bigod's Quay, and a third owned by the flourishing family of Harneys. The present-day businesses are infused with the same spirit which led Henry Tooley of the parish of St. Mary Quay to despatch the Mary Walsingham "by the Grace of God Iceland ward" in the year 1526, or induced Thomas Pownder, Merchant Adventurer of the same parish, to send out his bales all clearly marked with a capital T and two crosses, for the support of his wife and two sons and six daughters, or made Thomas Eldred of St. Clement's sail westwards round the world with Cavendish and thereafter take up the new trade with the East Indies.

But the inland trade with Suffolk villages was transferred from the water to the railway soon after the new station was opened at Stoke in 1846. The goods engines which now chug up the slope from the dockside, dragging wagon after wagon of agricultural machinery from the Orwell Works over the railway bridge to the main line, have emptied the Orwell and the Gipping of the barges which used to ply up to Stowmarket. And the merchants themselves have deserted their former homes where they used to live surrounded by their ships and their goods. Some of their finer buildings, such as the home of the Eldred family, have been preserved as museum pieces. Some of their dwellings have gone downhill, broken up into small tenements and little shops. Only one or two, such as the "Neptune", remain.

Similar developments changed the outline of the old walled town on its landward sides and near the markets. It was not Robert Ransome alone who took up space on the ditches for his factory. William Pretty, the son of an Ipswich draper, for example, converted the ancient cottage industry of stay and bodice-making into a manufactory which he built upon a site in Tower Ditches, organised as a finishing centre for work begun in branches throughout the county, and employing many women from the families of mechanics in the engineering works.

A series of Improvement Acts from 1792 to 1837 enabled commissioners to pave and light the streets, and to widen the narrow ways such as Tavern Street (1817). Some of the earliest activities of these commissioners were centred round the Corn Hill and its ancient buildings used for markets. The open octagonal market cross of timber, and the large timber shambles forming three sides of an oblong with the herb market within were still main features of the Hill when the commissioners were appointed in 1792. They immediately replaced the shambles with a curious building styled the Rotunda, intended as a market house and for shops, but so badly ventilated that by 1812 it was pulled down to make place for a spacious corn exchange which for a time occupied the site of the present Post Office. At the same time the market cross was destroyed, and its guardian figure, originally representing Flora in the gardens of Francis Negus of Dallinghoo and given by him as a figure of Justice for the cross, was removed to the new corn exchange and redecorated as Ceres.

Meantime, in 1809, a new market for cattle and meat and also for general provisions was established in the centre of the town by private enterprise, providing covered accommodation for the provision dealers who had previously sold their wares in the open Butter Market.

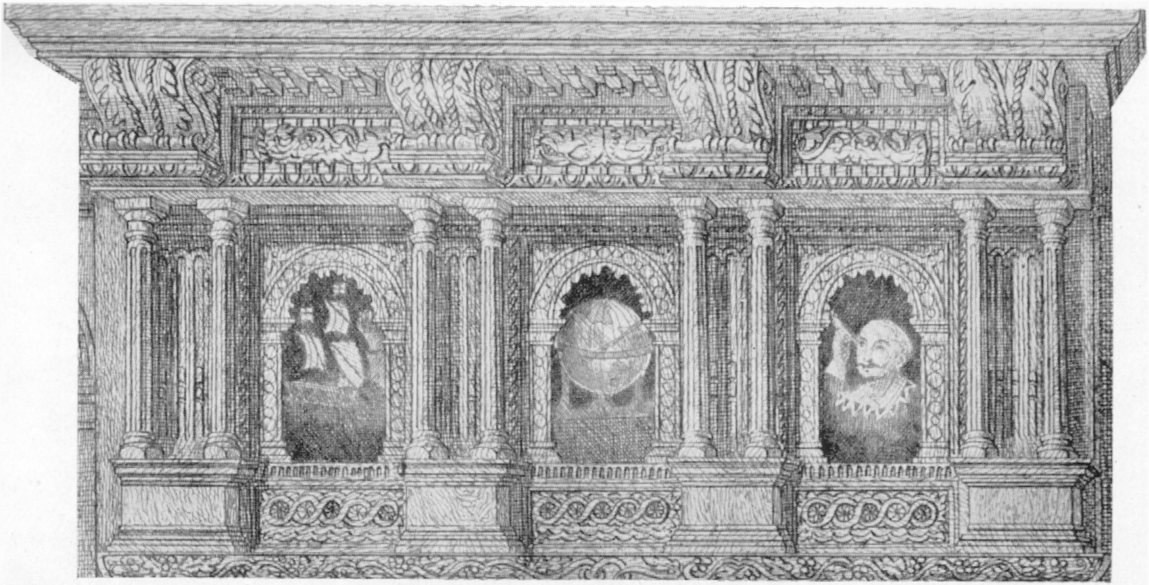
Each succeeding generation improved upon these market arrangements, and gradually as railway facilities and later motor

traffic brought the surrounding country into nearer range of the town, Suffolk farmers chose Ipswich markets for their corn and their cattle in preference to those in nearby smaller towns which were thus gradually robbed of their ancient markets. The Ipswich Corporation rebuilt the corn exchange upon the Corn Hill in 1850 and in 1880 removed it to a new building behind the Town Hall, providing for the provision market also. Accommodation for a large new cattle market was provided on the Portman Marshes west of the town in 1856.

During the mid-nineteenth century a professional quarter developed in the neighbourhood of the Town Hall, stretching first along Museum Street, named from the first museum built there in 1847, and along Princes Street constructed over the marshes as an approach to the railway in 1848.

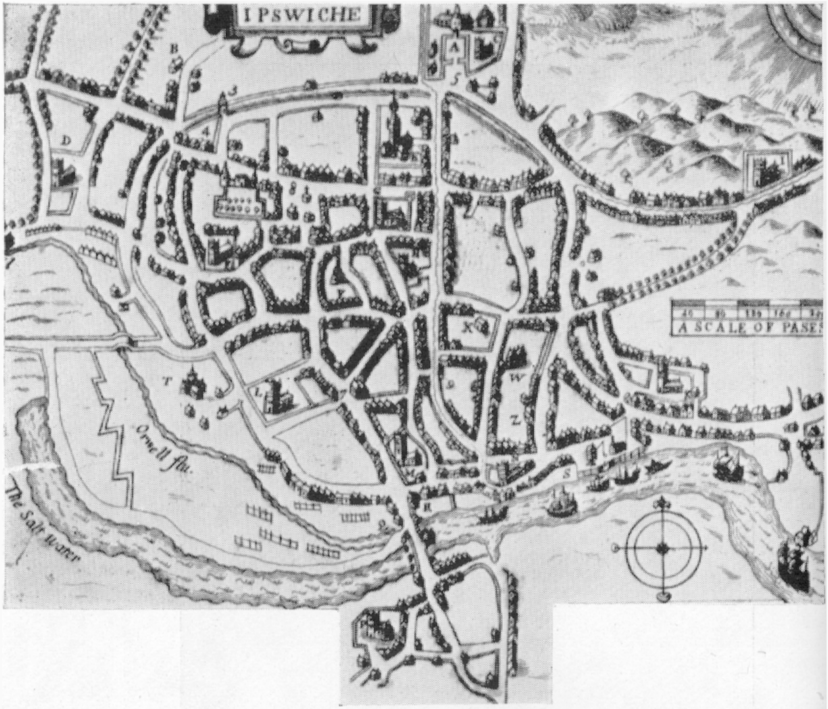
Business men at this time began to leave the old town as a place of residence, building themselves comfortable houses on its outskirts and occupying the pleasant residences along the Belstead and Henley Roads, or villas in the new Fonnereau Road, all within easy reach of their daily occupations by driving or riding.

But the land between these roads and beyond the immediate environs of the walled town still remained open and rural, though here and there were isolated mansions such as the Red House, long the home of the Edgar family, and the manor house called Brooks. An occasional farmstead might be turned into a dwelling house. The messuage called Round Wood with its acre and a half of neat lawn and shrubbery was thus separated from the sixty-acre farm near the Woodbridge Road tilled by a "civil" and obliging farmer, when in January 1798, the property was purchased by Sir Horatio Nelson, Rear Admiral of the Blue. Here was the romantic cottage of Nelson's dreams, with well-timbered grounds, near a trout stream and conveniently placed for fox-hunting, not too large yet capable of housing the portrait of himself recently painted by Lemuel Abbott. But within a few



10. THOMAS ELDRED, HIS SHIP AND GLOBE.

F. Russel and W. Hagreen.



11. PLAN OF THE TOWN OF IPSWICH, 1610.

From the map by John Speed.

weeks, the purchaser was at sea, leaving his nerve-ridden wife and his aged father to take up an erratic occupancy of the house. Lady Nelson found the society of Ipswich too narrow, and her father-in-law said that her company would never be coveted by "County Town Tabby Cats" until she could game and talk scandal. Her greatest hour in Ipswich came at eight o'clock on the evening of October 16th, 1798, when, attended by her father-in-law and greeted by two admirals, amidst loud huzzas and the ringing of bells she entered the Assembly Hall ballroom, which was lighted with transparencies and variegated lamps concealed amongst evergreens, to celebrate with three hundred notabilities of the town and neighbourhood her husband's recent brilliant victory of the Nile.

The borough chose Nelson as High Steward in his continued absence in July, 1800, but his return to the town was very different from what he or they had expected. Travelling from Yarmough where he had landed with the Hamiltons, and where Lady Hamilton had braved pouring rain in white muslin embroidered with laurel and the words "Nelson and Brontë", the hero of the Nile reached Round Wood in Sir William Hamilton's German travelling carriage, only to turn away upon finding that his wife was in London; and the party passed the night at the Great White Horse before going on to town.

Before the end of the year, Horatio Lord Nelson, Baron Nelson of the Nile, and his wife Frances parted company and the dream-cottage of Round Wood was sold to Robert Fuller and John Rivers.

Near to Round Wood on either side of the Woodbridge Road, then Rushmere Lane, the dread of invasion by Napoleon caused large ranges of temporary barracks for seven or eight thousand men to be erected. These forces with those housed elsewhere in the town and at outlying places such as Woodbridge manoeuvred and trained upon Rushmere Heath and got refreshment from

those inns which still bear the names of their royal commanders, such as the Duke of York. With the coming of peace most of the hutments were pulled down, but some remained, and attracted the poorest inhabitants who here found a cheap residence, much to the concern of those ratepayers upon whom fell the burden of supporting the wretched dwellers in these ill-made hovels. The old barracks were eventually replaced by houses of the better sort, and a few "elegant villas" spread up the slopes.

On the high ground, L'Abbé Louis Pierre Simon, a refugee from France, found a pleasant site for a modern Roman Catholic Church built in 1825; and a convent of St. Mary and St. Joseph with extensive schools was subsequently established near by.

And what of the rank and file of workers who crowded into Ipswich in the mid-nineteenth century to earn a living as mechanics or labourers in the new factories or at the dockside? Not having even a bicycle to take them to their long hours of work, they found themselves housed in the lower parts of the town. Their homes were often back-to-back houses built upon scraps of land, without even a small courtyard for air, and in conditions of insanitation which caused a continuous epidemic of low fever.

The horse trams, which made their way up the steep rise of Spring Road, after the first tram had run from the Cornhill to the Station in 1880, began to open up some new districts for the wage-earner. The replacement of the horse-trams by electric trolley-buses in 1903 and the invention of the bicycle and the motor car threw open new building districts within the ancient Liberties. As the town thus grew, open spaces were secured by generous gifts and by such purchases as that of Christchurch Park in 1894. For even in medieval Ipswich the love of gardens had been great, and the Frenchman, Monsieur de la Rochefoucauld had remarked rather amusedly in 1784 that Ipswich

people claimed that their large number of gardens added to the health of the place.

The development of the borough, in common with that of other towns, has fallen increasingly into the hands of the Corporation during the twentieth century. For example, districts near the Hadleigh and Nacton Roads were so developed to provide housing after the first Great War, and the Borough in 1929 converted the site of the Artillery Barracks into one hundred dwellings fronting upon the Anglesea Road and lining the Geneva and Cecil Roads.

The Corporation adopted a scheme for town planning in 1930, when the chief area still remaining open and in the vicinity of the old town lay between the Norwich and Henley Roads. Slum clearance was undertaken upon a large scale in 1935, when districts in the old town round St. George's Street, Lower Orwell Street, Bell Lane, Austin Street and Wolsey Street were declared clearance areas. The residents were rehoused farther out upon sites near the borough boundaries such as the Whitton Housing Estate; but the outbreak and consequences of the Second Great War have so delayed these developments that derelict waste places, which to-day scar the ancient town, denote rather difficulties of replacement than the occasional damage by enemy bombing, which wrought comparatively little destruction.

One notable private enterprise provided Ipswich with a seaside resort of its own, when George Tomline of Orwell Park, owner of large properties between the town and the bathing resort of Felixstowe, contrived in 1877 the linking up of Ipswich with that 'delightful village' by a single-track line or railway. Present day Ipswich not only overflows the bounds of the ancient borough into the surrounding countryside. Upon holidays and highdays it empties itself seaward, hiring a hut on the Felixstowe beach much as it rents a garage within its own town.

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Chapter IV

THE GOVERNORS AND THE GOVERNED

IPSWICH is a royal borough. After Queen Edith's day, whether at her death or immediately after the Norman Conquest, William I. accounted the town as his own, putting it into the charge of the sheriff, Roger Bigod. Roger increased the sum by which the burgesses held their town of the king to the large sum of £60 a year. He also demanded £20 from the moneyers in the mint, where royal money had been made since the time of King Edgar, instead of the £4 which they had paid yearly before the Conquest. Neither burgesses nor moneyers were able to pay all that he asked.

The town courts at this time were not held by the burgesses themselves, but by the king's reeve. Henry I. seems to have given additional privileges to the borough, and in the time of Richard I. others were acquired and arrears in the "farm" (or rent) by which the burgesses then held their town, were settled. In 1200, soon after the accession of King John, the burgesses at length obtained a royal charter of privileges for themselves and their gild. The "farm" was increased but in return they were exempted from paying toll wherever they might trade in all England, they were allowed to have their own gild, and to keep their own courts according to the law of other free boroughs. Instead of the king's reeve, their own bailiffs were to govern the borough. Four coroners were to keep the pleas of the crown and to see that the two bailiffs treated rich and poor alike.

Ipswich is almost alone in knowing just what happened when the borough first received its charter. The king's seal had been

set to the charter on the 25th of May. On the 29th of June, a great assembly of the townspeople met in the churchyard of St. Mary Tower. They first chose as bailiffs John, son of Norman, and William de Belines, who swore to keep their office faithfully and to treat both rich and poor lawfully. The four coroners were next chosen and sworn in. Then the common council of the whole town ordained that twelve portmen should be chosen to govern as in other free boroughs. The meeting thereupon adjourned until the following Sunday. On that day the bailiffs and coroners appointed four men from each parish to choose the twelve portmen. These were to maintain the charter, to keep all other liberties of the town and to do justice without respect of person. Having sworn to do their own duty, they caused all the people present to stretch out their hands towards a book of the Gospels and to swear to be obedient and to help the bailiffs, portmen and coroners to preserve the free customs of the town against all men except the king.

On the following Thursday, the bailiffs, coroners and portmen got together to draw up ordinances for governing the town. They decided that two beadles should carry out their orders and take charge of prisoners, that a seal should be made for the common council to use upon important business and for sealing letters, and that no burgess should enjoy within the borough the freedom from toll given by the charter unless he paid his "scot" (or dues) and took his "lot" (or duties) in the town's affairs. King John's charter was to be read out in the full county courts both of Norfolk and Suffolk, so that every one might know how the borough would in future be governed.

The people were again called together in the churchyard of St. Mary Tower on Sunday, 23rd of July. The ordinances were read out to them and they agreed to them with one voice, choosing the bailiffs for one year, four men to help collect the dues, and the two beadles. It took some time to make the seal. At length on Thursday, 12th October, it was shown to the people

assembled in the same churchyard. Now that the government of the borough was settled the assembly considered the gild merchant, choosing an alderman with four associates. All the people who were of the town's Liberty were told to come at once before these and to put themselves into the gild and the "Hanse."

It was clear that all these duties would cost the officers who were elected much time and labour. On October 12th, after the business of the gild had been settled, it was agreed that the aldermen should have the sole right to trade in stone of every kind, millstones, rubstones, gravestones and stone coffins, and mortars of marble and marble for paving. The portmen, for their reward, were to have the right to graze their horses upon the meadow of "Oldenholm," which thus became "Portman Marshes," a name still perpetuated in "Portman Road."

In this way Ipswich first set up its own government which controlled the borough for many generations, except upon two occasions when the king, angered by some failure upon the bailiffs' part, took the town back, appointing a warden to keep it. Edward I. was the first to do this. In 1283, while the sheriff was presiding in full County Court for Suffolk held at Ipswich, a riotous mob assaulted him keeping him in court until he made fine with two tuns of wine for his deliverance. Thereupon the king took the borough into his own hands, appointing his own officers to govern it and to administer its property, the mill at Horsewade, the marshes, the customs paid towards the borough's farm, the toll levied upon the barley and other goods at the quay, and the profits from holding courts. These were restored only in 1291, when the burgesses had shown their loyalty by the good services of Ipswich seamen in the Scottish War and by readiness to pay taxes for that purpose.

The second loss of power occurred in 1344, and was for a shorter period. King Edward III. then took umbrage at the treatment of his Judge of Assize, whose court had been seized

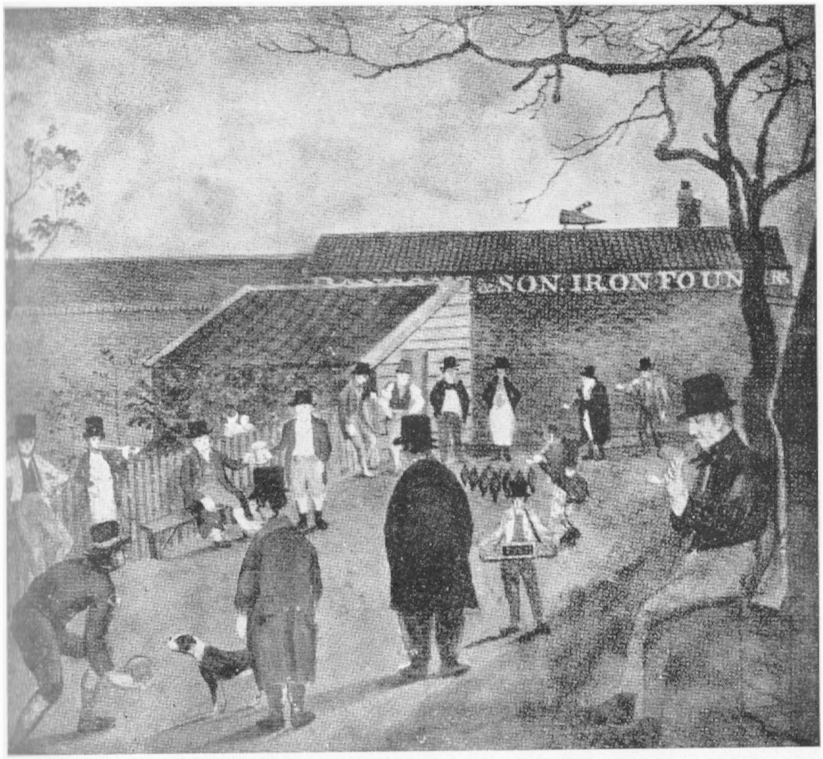
in his absence by a great and unruly company of sailors, perhaps acting in sympathy with certain smugglers charged with smuggling wool to Flanders and to Gascony over a period of ten years. The sailors set one of their own number in the judge's chair and appointed another as crier to summon before him the judge himself and his clerk, holding a mock assize upon them in their absence. The king, since the timid burgesses had failed to keep order among the sailors, seized the borough, handing it over for a time to the charge of the sheriff, Sir John Howard.

The borough purchased from king after king a renewal of privileges, sometimes acquiring also additional grants or definitions of customs long used without precise grant. The burgesses prized highly their freedom from the sheriff's control, and obtained from Henry III. in 1256 the right to return writs and to account freely in the exchequer without the sheriff. This same charter also declared that no brokers should intervene as middlemen in the town in sales of fish or of other merchandise.

In 1317, Edward II. granted that the burgesses should not be impleaded outside the town, and that assizes and inquisitions should be taken by burgesses from within the borough only.

Richard II. confirmed powers which had been disputed as to the pleas to be heard in the borough courts, and in 1380 he ratified the borough's privilges, even though they should not have been exercised.

Henry VI., in 1446, taking into consideration the heavy burden of the yearly payments to him, made the bailiff and four of the capital burgesses justices of the peace, constituted one of the bailiffs escheator within the borough, gave to the borough the profits which arose from assize of bread and wine and ale, and declared that no admiral of England or clerk of the market should henceforward have jurisdiction within the liberty.



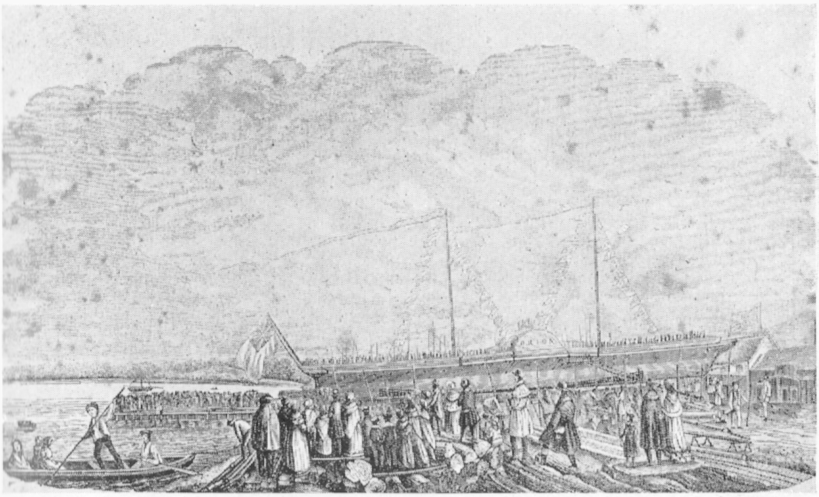
12. SKITTLE ALLEY BEHIND RANSOMES' PLOUGH SHOP, 1810.

By courtesy of Ransomes, Sims & Jefferies, Ltd.

13. BETTS'S STABLES. *From a sketch,* 1884.

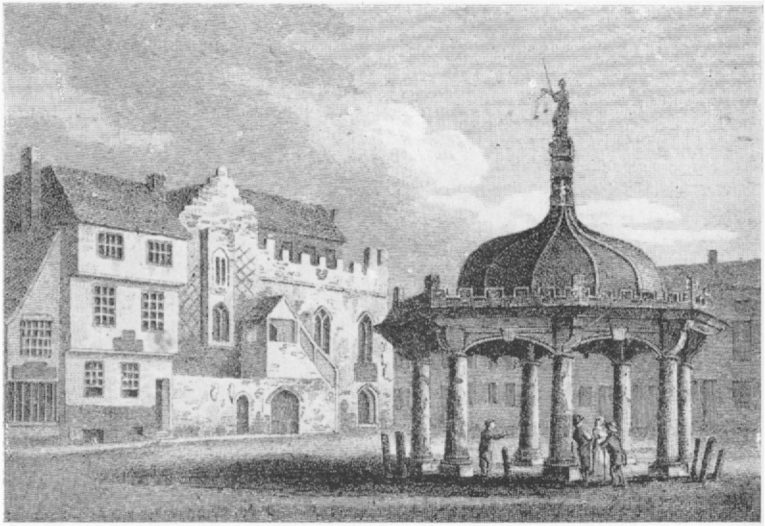
LONDON WAGGONS,
To the BULL INN, BISHOPSGATE STREET.

14. LONDON WAGGONS.
Advertisement in the Ipswich Journal.



15. LAUNCH OF THE "ORION," 1840. *From a contemporary engraving.*

16. AERIAL VIEW OF STOKE BRIDGE, THE DOCKS AND FORE STREET, 1920-30.
From a photograph by A. W. Hobart.



17. THE MARKET CROSS AND MOOT HALL, 1723-1812.

From an old engraving.

18. THE FIRST COMMON SEAL OF IPSWICH.

From a cast in the British Museum.

The burgesses were not yet content. They began subscribing in 1451 for a further charter, each portman paying 3s. 4d., each burgess 1s. 8d., and each resident a shilling, while the town clerk, who eventually secured the desired privileges, was rewarded with a life-interest in certain rents to endure "in sickness as in health."

The charter thus obtained from Edward IV in 1463 assigned to the borough the profits from the sessions of the peace, and definitely established the bailiff as admiral, clerk of the market and escheator within the Liberty.

The right to hold admiralty courts was especially prized. It was ratified in perpetuity by Richard III. in a charter of 1485, and was frequently confirmed. The jurisdiction extended right down to the sea, where Landguard faces Polleshead across the estuary, and in 1520 (just after a confirmation of the borough's privileges in this respect from Henry VIII.) the Great Admiral of England, Thomas Earl of Surrey, admitted that the borough held this jurisdiction within the port as far as the place called Polleshead.

But the town of Harwich was not so ready to allow the rights of its neighbour. Harwich, originally but a hamlet of Dovercourt, had sprung into eminence when Edward III. was assembling his fleets within the Orwell and Stour between 1338 and 1340. He had then given a charter to the men of Harwich, enabling them to collect dues from things coming for sale by land or water to their town or to the "Port of Orwell pertaining to their town," towards a wall for their town. His desire was doubtless to strengthen this base; but the form of his grant aroused the men of Ipswich who owned the Port of Orwell, and within a month the king had revoked his charter to Harwich on the score that the port belonged to Ipswich.

And indeed it had so belonged from time immemorial, although upon occasion the strong hand of the Earls of Norfolk, who owned both Walton on the left bank of the Orwell and Harwich where the Orwell meets the Stour, had nearly strangled the trade

of Ipswich. For the Bigods and their successors of the house of Norfolk were a law unto themselves, and Roger Bigod, the Earl Marshal, and fourth earl, had compelled merchants who were making for Ipswich to put in instead to his town of Harwich against their will, taking their sails and steering gear, and forcing them to sell their merchandise at his prices.

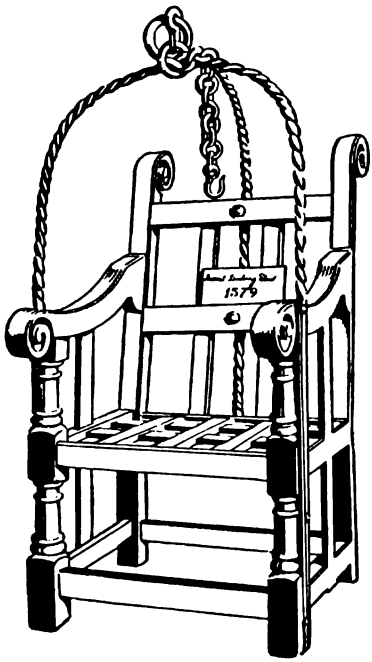
New disputes with the men of Harwich broke out from time to time and became more serious as that town developed into a naval dockyard, and its haven came to be recognised as the only safe port of refuge between the Thames and the Humber.

The corporation of Ipswich surrendered some of its duties in the Orwell to the Ipswich Dock Commissioners, established in the nineteenth century, and in 1863 the much divided jurisdiction over the estuary was recognised for a national danger. The lower reaches of the Orwell and the Stour were thereupon put under the control of a new Harwich Harbour Conservancy Board, which included representatives of Ipswich Corporation and of the Ipswich Dock Commissioners.

Although they twice failed to protect king's officers, the two bailiffs and the coroners, with the twelve portmen, supported by twenty-four chief burgesses or headboroughs, were greatly concerned in keeping law and order in medieval Ipswich. It was the coroners who took inquests when men were killed in the stabbing affrays which were frequent in taverns and streets, when men always wore knives at their belts; and by the custom of the town these inquests were made on the oath of twelve jurors chosen by the twirling of a knife, and by the reeve and four each from the four hamlets of Stoke, Brookes, Wicks Ufford and Wicks Episcopi, while the four nearest neighbours and those who found the dead body were each named with their pledges, and the parents were represented by a near kinsman.

There were many other disputes to settle in the Portman Moots held fortnightly before the bailiffs, or in the case of

Crown Pleas before the coroners also, in the courts of Petty Pleas between inhabitants of the town held twice a week before the bailiffs, in the Pleas of Piepowder for merchants which could be adjourned from day to day, and in the more hurried maritime



19. The Cucking Stool or Thew in Christchurch Mansion.

pleas, which decided disputes concerning passing strangers, and could be adjourned from tide to tide.

Besides all these things, these governors of the borough's business, counselled by the Town Clerk, controlled a great part of the townspeople's daily lives. They set the price of bread, for

example, basing it closely upon the price of the materials, with an allowance of one half-penny for candlelight and three halfpence for salt. They fixed the penalty for the miller who took more than his toll, deciding that he should stand in the pillory for two hours for the first offence, for eight hours for the second, and should be prohibited from milling for the third.

They tried to secure a fair market by preventing forestalling by the men who would go down the river by night to meet herring boats and sell fish outside the market at their own price.

They heard and decided trade disputes. For example, they awarded ten shillings damages to John Furbusshour from John Fysshman, who on the 4th February, 1479 undertook by the following Lady Day to paint or stain four linen cloths with divers colours in roses and other flowers fittingly for two beds, but sent them back that day little painted or not at all.

They admitted men to the freedom of the borough, upon proving their right, or they deprived of his freedom the burgess who "coloured" the goods of the foreigner, or outsider, thus getting them sold toll-free. For this exemption from toll, whether within the borough or without, was amongst the most prized privileges of the freemen of Ipswich. There were also the tedious and often technical cases to decide as to house and land property, in courts where the custom of the borough was to override even the law of the land. It was not the eldest son who inherited his father's burgage tenement, but two or more brothers. The Ipswich boy need not wait till he was twenty-one to sell his inheritance; if he could count and measure and show the bailiffs that he understood what he was doing, he might convey it away at fourteen.

The ancient custom of the place, dating far back beyond the Norman Conquest, guided the bailiffs, portmen and burgesses in their judgments and was written down in an *Old Domesday*. Imagine the consternation when one day in 1271 John le Blake, a false common clerk, made off, carrying with him the *Old*

Domesday and many other rolls and remembrances! It was twenty years before the wisest and best informed of the burgesses produced a second Domesday of their customs, just before Edward I. restored to them their borough.

The grant of a gild merchant had been a part of King John's gift to the town and for some centuries the merchants in this gild, and later the craft gilds, took a real part in ordering the life of the town. The gilds were highly organised and when they went in procession followed their gild symbols in groups, the mariners, merchants and brewers going after the ship, the clothmakers, dyers, drapers, mercers and other men of similar industries following the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, and the butchers and tallow chandlers being led by the bull.

The gild feasts were times for masses for the dead brethren and also for banqueting. Lamb, veal, geese, pork, chicken, pigeons and bread, in large quantity, graced the Corpus Christi feast of 1479, with spices and honey. The burgess paid 6d. for his own dinner and 4d. for his wife's, and if fiddlers came to enliven the entertainment their wages were gathered at table.

The Reformation deprived these yearly gatherings of any religious character. Then the control which the gilds exercised by ordinances over individual members of their crafts and trades dwindled. Attempts to form new, monopolist, gilds within the cloth industry failed. By the mid-seventeenth century these bodies no longer exercised any real influence or check upon the town's government, and existed only in the empty office of the gildholder or alderman.

The wise recorder of the borough, Nathaniel Bacon, writing about the year 1648, was concerned at this decay of the gilds, which had acted as a check upon the bailiffs, portmen and the twenty-four, serving to give a broad basis to the government of the town. Much power became concentrated in the hands of

the few. Unless (said he) the governors of the borough "advanced God's worship" . . . . righteousness and prosperity would "get upon the wing" and "leave this place buried up in contempt." During the next two centuries the borough did indeed draw upon itself contempt through the factions of its governing body and their selfish greed for power and for office.

In Bacon's own time, dissension could scarcely have failed to arise through political differences even in so whole-heartedly a Parliamentarian town as Ipswich. Difficulties had frequently been experienced in the Borough Assemblies at such times of stress. During the Civil Wars of the fifteenth century, much strife had arisen and the number of Great Assemblies was reduced to avoid waste of time in bitter argument. Some of the discords then arose because of intervention from outside, by supporters for example of the Howard interest. In 1455 it was ordered that no burgess should purchase a letter from any lord or lady to influence his election to office; and in 1474 the Assembly sought to ensure orderliness by taking the vote of the majority (seven portmen and 14 of the twenty-four) "to do all things," instead of requiring unanimity. When the Ipswich courts in 1642 were reflecting the national strain between king and Parliament, confusion in the Assembly was avoided by an order which fixed a penalty of 12d. to be given to the poor by any man who interrupted the previous speaker, and required that all speeches should be addressed to the bailiffs.

The Stuart kings, Charles II. and James II., interfered with the self-government of Ipswich in their general manipulations of borough charters. Charles II. put his own nominees into office by his second charter to the town in 1684. James II., having secured the borough's surrender of existing charters, re-constituted it to his own ends and nominated his own officers in 1688. But very shortly there reached the burgesses his proclamation reversing such charters in a last and vain attempt to

recover popularity before he fled the country. Thenceforward Ipswich was ruled by Charles II.'s first charter, dated 1665. By this he confirmed the borough's ancient privileges but also made the governing body a "Close Corporation" in which the portmen and the twenty-four councillors filled up their own numbers as occasion arose. The choice of the bailiffs and the election of members of Parliament rested however with the freemen.

The number of these free burgesses varied very much from time to time. At first freedom had been chiefly prized because it gave the medieval burgess exemption from paying toll, and implied to the merchant trading in foreign, and often hostile, parts, the strong support of his fellow-burgesses. In theory, the freeman of 1700 still had the sole right to trade within the town without licence; but as early as 1513, Master Thomas Drayle tried to buy relief for the ordinary shop-keeper. He bequeathed £140 to the borough, on condition that in future only one shilling should be paid by the newcomer who opened a shop or sold goods in the town.

It became more and more difficult to prevent "secret" sales outside the market. The butchers who failed to show the hides of the cattle they had killed were prosecuted by the borough in the Court of Exchequer in 1603. Proclamations forbidding the opening of any shop in Ipswich or the exercise of any mystery there except by freemen were made in vain in 1727.

In the eighteenth century the freedom was prized mainly for its political power and for the high prices given in return for votes. The corporation was sometimes governed by Tories, sometimes by Whigs. Each party would obtain large numbers of supporters by making freemen, often of residents outside the town, just before some crucial election. Perhaps the most notorious of these occasions was the Great Court of 19 June, 1755, when the bailiffs, with a single portman and fourteen of the twenty-four councillors with only fifty-two freemen elected no

fewer than one-hundred-and-twenty-seven gentlemen of Suffolk, including thirty-five clergymen, and eight baronets, to be free burgesses upon payment of £5 each. These large accessions of new burgesses, from outside the borough, with those who took up the freedom by patrimony (or inheritance) also often living outside the borough, gave great power to the candidate who could bring in the largest number to the poll, and by the beginning of the nineteenth century it was frequently the "Wellington Club," which consisted of freemen, which decided whether or no voters should be brought from distant parts such as Deptford, where there were very many. This club indeed lived by the dissensions in the corporation, from which individual freemen benefited, and by 1835 the club practically ruled the town, preventing any attempt of the portmen and the councillors to combine for the benefit of the town or to reform abuses.

During the eighteenth century and well into the nineteenth, freemen, councillors and portmen alike served the interests of their own pockets or of their political factions, rather than the good of the borough. Election to every office, great or small, whether as Member of Parliament, Town Clerk or Town Crier, became the occasion for a costly and bitter struggle between Whigs and Tories, the Yellows and the Blues. There were Yellow Schools and Blue Schools; there was a Yellow Bank and a Blue. The Whig portmen refused to fill up their numbers from the Tory councillors; for by 1755 all the portmen were Whigs and all the councillors were Tory. Even when the portmen had so dwindled in number that the government by charter was threatened with entire annihilation, portmen and councillors could not agree to petition for a new charter to preserve the borough's very existence. The commissioner who examined the condition of English boroughs before the Municipal Reform Act reported that:

> It is a constitution which still presents the appearance of a popular government, but it is in reality no such thing. Considered with reference to the corporate body only, it is an ill-regulated republic: considered with reference to the local community it is an oligarchy of the worst description.

The Municipal Reform Act of 1835 remodelled the borough upon the lines then adopted uniformly throughout England. Henceforward the governing body consisted of a mayor, ten aldermen and thirty councillors, elected by ratepayers, so that the freemen of the borough retained privileges which were most by nominal. Local customs as to property were finally wiped out by general legislation in 1925.

In 1835, the very year of the Municipal Reform Act, a particularly "strong" and disreputable contest between the Conservative "Blues" and the Liberal "Yellows" brought to Ipswich the young and active representative of the *Morning Chronicle*, Charles Dickens. "Sketches by Boz" had then recently started Dickens upon his rapid rise to literary fame. He returned to Ipswich in May, 1836, to report a speech by O'Connell, and within a month or two had abandoned newspaper work for the writing of "Pickwick Papers."

The town was thus fresh in his mind, when he chose the labyrinths of the "rampacious" Great White Horse as the scene for Pickwick's adventure with the lady in yellow curl-papers. And he absorbed many months' experience of England's small boroughs into his descriptions of Mr. Nupkins, the principal magistrate, Mr. Grummer, the elderly peace-officer with his "twenty gold-beater force" of special constabulary, and the brow-beaten clerk, Mr. Jinks.

In the conditions existing in the early nineteenth century, it is hardly surprising that the real care for the well-being of the

borough fell into other hands. The corporation were narrow and shortsighted when proposals for improvements came forward. They decided for example, in 1719 that the making of the river navigable to Stowmarket would be prejudicial to the trade of Ipswich.

Much of the borough property was heavily mortgaged to pay for constant litigation arising from factious disputes. The enterprise and money for improvements had to come from elsewhere, and this remained the case even after the passing of the Municipal Reform Act of 1835. The Act for paving the town of Ipswich, passed in the reign of Elizabeth, had committed to the bailiffs, portmen and the parish authorities the burden of raising a rate for the purpose. A contractor was employed to pave the street between each house and the channel or gutter which ran down the middle, another undertook to cart stone and gravel so that the "pathers" should not lose any time, and the man who provided the stone was also to find baskets holding a hundredweight each for the loaders and "pathers." This work was organised by the corporation; but the parish surveyors later became responsible for mending the ways, and it was the commissioners appointed by acts, forced through Parliament against opposition, who paved and lighted the streets from 1792 onwards, striving from time to time to add to their own powers, for instance in 1815 to be allowed to compel the carrying of lanthorns before sedan chairs after sunset, or to remove the May Cattle Fair ("St. George's Fair") from the streets, where it was accompanied by noisy shows of performing seals, dogs and elephants, by numerous conjurors and a "fine display of Suffolk lasses," and sometimes gave rise to affrays between the townspeople and the officers of the fair.

The water supply had also been at first the concern of the corporation who had made use of the ample supplies from the surrounding springs such as Cauldwell Brook, setting up conduits in one place or another. But these piecemeal methods were

inadequate for the growing town in the mid-nineteenth century, and after a vain attempt by the corporation to take control of private supplies in 1854, an Act of 1855 enabled a private company to purchase both the corporation's existing supplies and those from other sources such as the springs owned by the Fonnereau, Alexander, Cobbold and Orford families. It was these numerous springs of water rather than any great organisation which prevented Ipswich from suffering from those extensive fires which upon occasion destroyed great parts of neighbouring towns such as Bury or Beccles; for the modest equipment provided by the corporation in 1631 consisted of two long ladders and two great cromes with hooks to pull away burning thatch.

In the medieval town, care for public hygiene had been restricted to fines levied from offenders such as those who put garden rubbish into Carr Street, or deposited household waste in the open street gutters, or in the town ditch.

The local board of health which succeeded the improvements commissioners in 1857 made some headway towards better health within the town, and the crowded churchyards of the parish churches in the heart of the old town were replaced by a large cemetery lying in what was then open country on the high ground. The corporation became sanitary authority in 1872 and took more positive steps towards hygienic living. A main sewer was constructed in 1880. In common with other municipalities, and as the municipal franchise spread, the corporation took more and more positive steps for the provision of common services for the population, and in 1925 it obtained an act to extend its powers.

Among the most remarkable of the services so undertaken was the supply of electricity, which was begun in 1903 and maintained by the corporation until transferred to the nation in April of the year 1948, when the British Electricity Authority took over from the borough not only the long-used power station in Constantine Road, but also a magnificent new station in course

of construction for the corporation at Cliff Quay.

In such developments and in many others the town has followed since 1835 the same growth as that of other English municipalities along lines laid down by legislation and by statutory orders from the central ministries concerned. Under the Municipal Reform Act of 1888, Ipswich is a county borough not only because of its size, but because its independence of the shire is long-established. Bailiffs, jealous of this privilege, used to watch to see that no sheriff exercised his office within their Liberties, unless he first recognised their franchise by issue of the writ of *non omittas*, and in one such case at least the borough retaliated by shutting the offending sheriff out of the session hall for a year.

The ancient meeting place for the half hundred of Ipswich was doubtless the "Thingstead" or place of meeting on St. Margaret's Plain just without the old walls of the town. It was customary in the thirteenth century to hold courts in the "Leaden Hall" or Hall of Pleas, which was within the wall and in the neighbourhood of the North Gate. Perhaps this was why the general assembly to treat about King John's Charter met near by in the churchyard of St. Mary Tower.

The ancient Gildhall, however, stood upon the south side of the Cornhill next a church of St. Mildred, which was sometimes styled a parish church and sometimes a chapel, and had disappeared by the sixteenth century when its site was let out to a private individual. As the government of the merchant gild and the borough amalgamated,the Gildhall was called the Town or Moot Hall, and the Toll House or Hall of Pleas in the time of Richard II. was in or near that hall, for it stood next the church of St. Mildred's.

In the fifteenth century a new chamber, wainscotted and hung with stained cloths, was erected at the end of the Hall of Pleas. These buildings served as a centre for town government

until they were pulled down in 1812. They then consisted of two portions, the westernmost or larger, plastered and embattled, with fifteenth century windows and an outside stairway approaching the upper storey, where public business was conducted "on the hall"; the easternmost a red-brick building, with a high-stepped gable. The outside stairway of this picturesque hall at first escaped the hands of the improvement commissioners although they considered it a useless encroachment upon the open market space. But the whole hall was shortly pulled down, and was completely re-built. The new Town Hall was begun in 1818. It was built upon Palladian lines and was soon outgrown as public business developed. In 1868 it was accordingly replaced by the present Town Hall, which occupies not only the site of the old hall but also that of the Corn Exchange Tavern and another adjacent building. And now this larger and more imposing hall is itself too small for the complex needs of a modern municipality, and recent projects have included a plan for removing the business centre of the borough away from this south side of the Cornhill, where it has been established for some seven centuries.

Upon another site, between what was then St. Edmund Pountney Lane and is now Foundation Street and the road then called the Wash and now Lower Orwell Street, there stood for some three hundred years a remarkable group of buildings, occupying the site of the Dominican Priory and land nearby. The very name Foundation Street was adopted because here were erected almshouses known as the "Foundation" of Henry Tooley, a wealthy merchant of St. Mary Key, under whose will, proved in 1552, the corporation administered a trust, including these homes for poor persons lamed in the king's wars. Near at hand stood Richard Felaw's house which had been bequeathed in 1482 for a "common" school and dwelling place for a schoolmaster, survived transfer to Wolsey's College and was in-

corporated in the Grammar School chartered by Queen Elizabeth.

The corporation purchased the site of the priory as a "hospital of poor people" in 1569, after comparing it with the site of the Carmelite Priory for the purpose. Tudor burgesses were hard put to it to make provision for the poor, especially in years of great scarcity. Among the remedies which they tried was to compel each member of the corporation to buy a quantity of rye or barley in Norfolk at 4s. 4d. the bushel and to sell the grain to poor people in Ipswich at 4s. Sometimes they purchased the cargo of incoming grain vessels and forbade any sales of imported corn until "God should bless the town with more store," thus safeguarding a supply for Ipswich, only, except that a few "westernmen" were allowed to come from Bury, Hadleigh or Sudbury to satisfy the needs of those towns, provided they came within a week.

Upon the site of the priory, the borough set up Christ's Hospital, obtaining a charter from Queen Elizabeth in 1572, and defraying part of the cost of the purchase from the sale of Tooley's properties in Ipswich. The hospital was founded out of commiseration for the poor in real want and also to correct vagrant beggars, the "lazy drones of the Commonwealth." It was to house the very young and the aged homeless and the sick, and was to be a place of employment for the able-bodied workless. A Dutchman was at one time given a stock to provide work for forty people in the refectory or main hall of the priory. The place in fact became a house of correction, an infirmary, a pauper school and a workhouse such as those established in large numbers a generation later by the Elizabethan Poor Law. Its governors were particularly enjoined to search out the idle vagabonds and sturdy beggars in the town, and to commit them to this "workhouse" for correction. A second wealthy portman, William Smart, in 1591 added to the almshouses several endowments, to be administered by the wardens of

Tooley's Foundation.

It was near to this group of buildings, upon the site of the Priory garden, that the borough built a new Shire Hall for the county sessions and assizes, as well as for their own use, in 1698. The long hall of the priory, sometimes used for the workhouse, was occasionally let out for wedding feasts or for the gild banquets. The ancient dormitory of the friars above this refectory was adapted as a school room for the Grammar School. The town library bequeathed by Smart and increased by succeeding donors, was housed near at hand. Now all that remains of this interesting group of institutions occupying the precincts of a thirteenth-century priory is a mere fragment of rubble, and the new-built almshouses.

The destruction of the refectory and dormitory when the Grammar School was removed in 1851 to more spacious new buildings upon the Henley Road was effected with such difficulty that a cartoonist of the day depicted twenty or more men hauling down the Gothic building as in a tug-of-war. The remaining institutions, save for the rebuilt almshouses, have been removed piecemeal. The trustees, who took control of borough charities after the Municipal Reform Act of 1835, moved Christ's Hospital School in 1841 to the Wherstead Road, where it became a free boarding school, until absorbed into a new scheme for Ipswich endowed schools in 1880.

The Sessions Hall fell into decay and was supplanted by new buildings in St. Helen's in 1839. The guardians of the Ipswich Union built a new workhouse at Great Whip Street in 1837 and removed the boys and girls separately to a training home in St. John's in 1872. In 1899 they erected on the Woodbridge Road an imposing Poor Law Institution with infirmary, now the Public Assistance Institution and the Heath Road Borough General Hospital.

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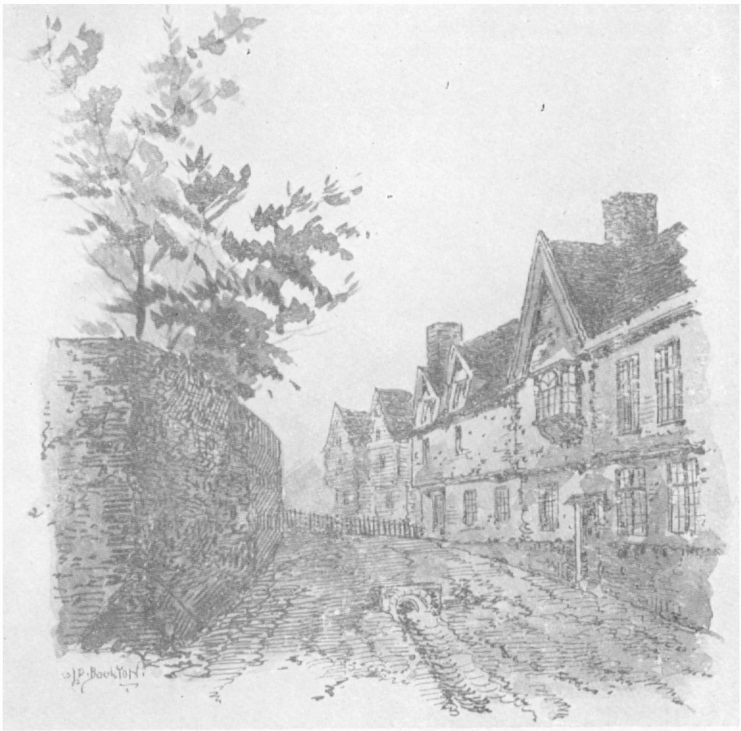
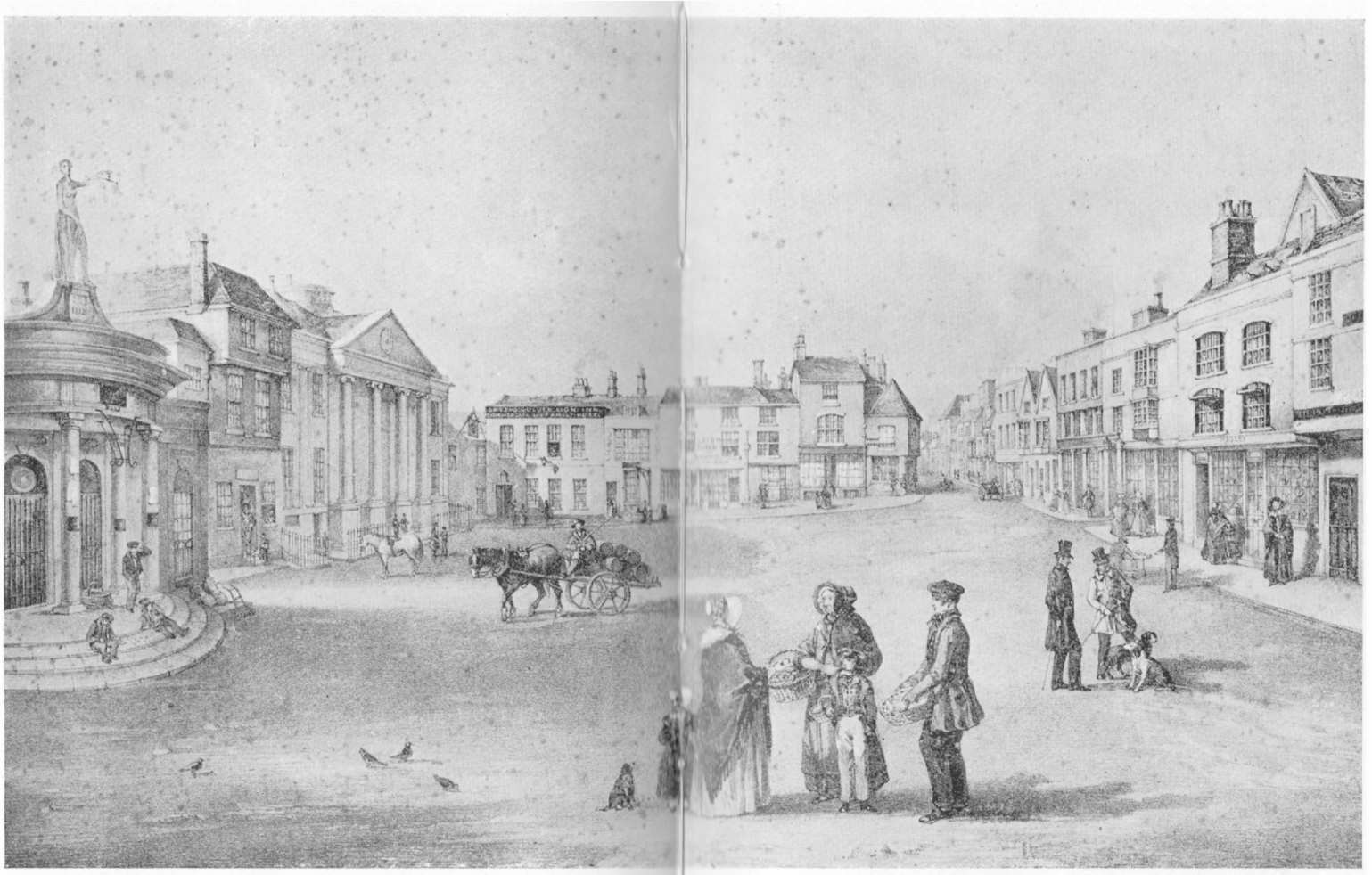
The Moot Horn.



20. OLD BOLTON.

From a water-colour by E. Pococke.



21. THE CORNHILL, 1842.
From a drawing by C. L. Nursey.

22. ST. MICHAEL AND THE DRAGON IN THE CHURCH OF ST. NICHOLAS.

Photograph by S. Haggar, Ipswich.

Chapter V

THE SOUL OF MEDIEVAL IPSWICH

CLOSELY set in every part of the old town of Ipswich there rise the square towers characteristic of the fifteenth century parish church in East Anglia. We can merely conjecture who first set aside for worship these valuable sites and endowed church and priest with neighbouring lands and tithes. The entries in Domesday Book prove that there were already a dozen Ipswich churches in 1086, and that their endowments then amounted to 149 acres. This is to leave out of count the important, manorial, church of St. Peter, with its six carucates of ploughed land. The queer irregular shape of the ancient parishes and the history of some, such as St. Stephen's with its detached portions, lead to the supposition that the first churches were built independently by groups of settlers or by single leaders for their own use and for that of their tenants.

By the mid-thirteenth century the total number had risen to fifteen; and we know also of chapels, such as All Saints attached to St. Matthew's, or St. Edmund Pountney in the parish of St. Mary Quay, which were almost as important as the parish church in the lives of the people.

In these chapels, as in the churches, a thief could find temporary sanctuary. John Buckleche, a prisoner in the town gaol for stealing from the prior of Holy Trinity, broke prison and took refuge in All Saints in 1339, saving his life by going into exile and serving in the king's armies overseas.

Here and there a relic of earlier building gives some idea of the massive appearance of the Ipswich churches when Norman and

Plantagenet kings governed the town. St. Nicholas has strange early eleventh century carvings in stone, one of which, depicting St. Michael and the Dragon, bears the legend "Her Sanctus Micael feht wid dane Dragon." St. Peter's has a fine font of Tournai stone of the late twelfth century, and the south door of St. Mary Elms retains some of its decoration in the Norman style.

In the 15th and early 16th centuries, when the town was flourishing by reason of the trade in cloth, the townspeople rebuilt every one of their churches. This thing was done by such wealthy burgesses as John Bottold, who began the rebuilding of St. Lawrence, where he was buried in 1481, or John Baldwyn, who, with his wife Joan, contributed funds to the chancel there seventeen years later.

Ipswich gilds, too, subscribed to the costly ornamentation. It is probably the portraits of the brothers and sisters of the gild of St. Erasmus, grouped about their chaplain (who is shown head and shoulders above them all) that remain upon the early 16th century panels of the rood screen in St. Matthew's.

Individuals gave what they could. Rose Skypper in 1490 bequeathed a silver salt cellar to St. Lawrence to make a chalice. Thomas Crane, cloth worker, left 8d. a year from his tenteryard in Wicks for a light to burn before the image of Our Lady in St. Mary Elms in 1515. Beatrice Wynter gave 2d. or 4d. to nine different lights in the church of St. Nicholas and her great kettle, spit and dripping pan for use at the gild feast of St. Erasmus. Robert Rede in 1508 bequeathed a comb of wheat and two of malt to the painting of the rood beam in St. Stephen's. And William Harcourt, hoping to outdo his neighbours, gave orders for a cross like that in St. Nicholas churchyard, or better, to be placed over his grave in the churchyard of St. Peter's.

The people thus provided the church fabric, ornaments and furniture. Whence could they find the priests to serve so many

parishes? This problem was solved by the foundation of two houses of Austin Canons who eventually, between them, took the tithe and served the churches in all but three of the parishes. The earliest of these two priories was the royal foundation of St. Peter and St. Paul which Henry I. set up, or confirmed, in 1130, when he issued a writ in its aid. This small priory near the waterside was enlarged in 1303. The kings of England as patrons expected not only to receive the prayers of the canons and to be consulted in the election of priors, but also to have hospitality for their nominees, often appointed for life. When Edward II. insisted that the canons should provide maintenance fit for a man of gentle birth for Gerard de Cessons and also for Gerard's wife Nichola, after her husband's death, the canons' patience was exhausted and they secured from Edward III. a promise that this burden should cease.

More serious claims upon their hospitality came from the sheriff, whose business frequently brought him into the neighbourhood. In 1274, when the canons refused to receive the then sheriff, Walter de Felshanger, he retaliated by oppressing their house with distraints and the dispute was submitted to a neighbouring magnate, Richard de Holbrook, who was steward of the king's demesnes this side of Trent.

The canons of St. Peter's received numerous small parcels of land scattered through the villages about Ipswich and in its suburbs. The gifts were made by people desiring their prayers or some other benefit. A large holding at Panington in Wherstead was the subject of a complicated agreement between the prior and one, Cecily, who had already given one acre for the soul of her son Robert. Cecily made conditions on behalf of her other son, Richard, and also had a grant for life of the daily food provided for a canon of the house. This was to be a canon's bread with a flagon of ale and a dish of either pease or meat each day.

In the time of the Crusades men also endowed the priory

with their lands in return for money to take them to the Holy Land. Ralph and Roger de Blancheville did this in the first year of Richard I., when they gave a tenement in the suburbs at Thurleston and Whitton for the health of their own and their ancestors' souls and in return for two marks (that is 13s. 4d. each), of silver to enable them to go on pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

The second house of Austin canons was founded somewhat later. It existed by 1162 on the northern outskirts of the walled town near the Thingstead and just outside the North Gate. This priory of Holy Trinity owed its endowment to several men of whom three at least became canons within it. Simon, son of Osbert, gave the church of Holy Trinity itself. But it was the canon, Norman, son of Eadnoth, who gave the important church of St. Mary Tower and lands both within and without the ramparts, and two canons named Ernald and Fulk granted other land outside the borough. These earliest endowments included churches and many small parcels of land in Suffolk, and Henry II. added the valuable right of a three days' fair at the feast of Holy Cross (14 September).

This priory of Holy Trinity (known later as Christchurch) was destroyed by fire in 1194 and was rebuilt by John de Oxford then Bishop of Norwich. It was then occupied by about seven canons and at one time they increased to twenty; but half a dozen or so was the normal number to live in this unpretentious priory, which at its surrender resembled an ordinary dwelling house, containing a hall, a parlour, a parlour chamber, and another bed chamber, and a "base" or lower chamber.

The two priors were not always at peace with the burgesses. In 1303 the Borough Court stepped in and made John, prior of St. Peter's, enter into four sureties to keep the peace with Robert Starling, who alleged that the prior had threatened his body with burning. And in the same year, Christopher Haltby

complained that the canons of Holy Trinity not only detained a ladder of his which had been used in repairing their roof, but also refused to give back a shield and a buckler which they had borrowed from him.

The priors, however, took a prominent part in the corporate life of the borough. They were accounted burgesses and they paid scot and lot. When they were admitted to the freedom they provided their share of the viands for the gild feast, a comb of wheat and a quarter of barley from Holy Trinity, and from St. Peter (whose rents were frequently paid in poultry), a comb of wheat and six capons.

The two priors led the way in the organising of the Corpus Christi or merchants' gild in 1325, when upon May Day they gathered the parish clergy in the church of St. Margaret and agreed with the lay brethren of the gild upon the details of ceremonies to be observed yearly in the Procession of the Host, one year from Holy Trinity and the next from St. Peter's, upon Corpus Christi Day, and as to the exact solemnities to be observed in the washing of feet at the church of St. Mary Tower on Maundy Thursday.

About a century after the foundation of Holy Trinity Priory, friars began to arrive in Ipswich. The first to come were preachers, "Black" or Dominican Friars, who were established by King Henry III. in 1263 in a house which he had purchased near the eastern ramparts. Their numbers increased rapidly and by 1277 had reached fifty. They continued adding to the site of their priory for nearly one hundred years, building a chamber out from their dormitory over the town ditch in 1275, acquiring a large plot in the ditch itself in 1346, undertaking in 1348 to keep up the great gates north and south of their court in the wall, so that the burgesses might pass in time of misfortune or need, and adding three more messuages to their precincts in 1351.

While, in accordance with their rule, they acquired no lands save for the house itself, they received large benefactions in money and in kind, and among those whose names were upon their roll of benefactors were Roger Bigod, the Earl Marshall, Sir John Sutton, knight, and Robert Ufford, the last Earl of Suffolk of that family.

Next came the Carmelites or "White" Friars, men of great learning, who lived a life of austerity by devoting themselves to study. The decision to found a house of this order was taken at a provincial chapter at Norwich in 1278, and soon building was begun in the very centre of the town. The precincts of the priory were gradually extended by taking in tenement after tenement during the next 120 years. Eventually they stretched from the present Queen Street on the west to St. Stephen's Lane on the east, and from the present Buttermarket towards the Old Gaol near the Old Cattle Market.

The priory church, which was re-built late in the 15th century, stood on the east side of Market Lane about midway down the lane and faced the Great House, behind which the priory gardens stretched to the west gate of the priory in Queen Street.

The house was thus large enough to entertain King Henry VI. and all his suite in 1452. It was sufficiently important to be frequently chosen as the place for provincial chapters, and the prior was occasionally Provincial of England.

The friars were often drawn from Suffolk villages and were first ruled by Richard of (Monk's) Eleigh, who was their prior until his death in 1323. His successor, William Ludlington, with Richard's brother Thomas of Eleigh, a Cambridge Doctor of Divinity, who became a canon of the same house, led the opposition among English friars to a proposal for dividing the Irish Carmelites from the English Province. The bitter contest which then arose ended in the banishment of Ludlington to Paris, there to fast and read divinity, and in an order to Thomas

of Eleigh to move to London and there to lecture as a penance. This Thomas also wrote many books, including one upon the Apocalypse and another upon questions of philosophy.

A house of a third order of friars, the Franciscans or "Grey" Friars, who were mendicants, begging for their maintenance, was established near the western wall of the town immediately west of the parish church of St. Nicholas, by Sir Robert Tiptot, a knight of Nettlestead, who died in 1298, and by Una his wife. These friars found it necessary to enlarge their precincts in 1332 by acquiring a messuage and vacant site from Sir Nicholas Frauncis, knight.

A single vellum leaf, written in the late 13th century and used in re-binding a 15th century book, gives us a picture of the early days of the friary, when zealous brethren drawn from local homes, such as Wilfred of Nacton, Martin of Norwich, John of Baddely, John of Martlesham and Richard of Ickworth, brought their own service books or glossed Bibles to the priory or persuaded wealthy persons, such as the Lady Joan Berkele, to provide books for the choir and for general reading, or arranged for the purchase of a single book at the cost of two or three benefactors. The donors were commended by name in the worship of the priory church with those who gave vestments and chalices for its use or household utensils for the convent.

The prayers of the Ipswich Grey Friars were highly valued by Suffolk people and by Ipswich burgesses, who gave them many gifts in money or in kind. Country gentry and knights and persons of higher rank sought to be buried in the convent church for the future welfare of their souls. Within its walls were laid to rest the hearts of Sir Robert Vere the Elder and of Dame Petronilla Ufford, and the bodies of Margaret Countess of Oxford, Dame Alice Holbrook, and Robert Lord Curson, besides numerous members of the founder's family.

Neither the canons nor the friars appear to have provided schooling for the children of Ipswich, but schoolmasters did exist in the borough, some to teach the "petties" or little ones their alphabet and the older "songsters", others, who were grammar masters, to instruct those who learn their Latin primers, their psalter and finally their grammar. These grammar masters were sometimes employed as chaplains of the Corpus Christi gild, saying mass for the souls of the members of that gild. In 1483, Richard Felaw, who had served the borough as bailiff and also in Parliament, bequeathed the house against the gate of the Friars Preachers to serve as a school house and dwelling for a grammar master and endowed this school, so that children of the less wealthy parents could be educated free.

It is possible that Thomas Wolsey, who rose to be the most remarkable statesman and churchman of his time, was educated at Felaw's School until he went up to Oxford as a young boy. His father, Robert Wolsey, was a tavern keeper and butcher of Ipswich, who moved his home from the parish of St. Mary Elms to that of St. Nicholas, and was frequently in trouble in the Ipswich courts for not abiding by their orders—for example, for not exposing the skins of cattle that he had slaughtered. Once, too, he was fined for selling bad meat pies. When Thomas Wolsey was first rising in the world and had become dean of Lincoln as well as chaplain to the king, a notable Ipswich merchant named Edmund Daundy founded a chantry in the church of St. Lawrence, Ipswich, where the priest should celebrate mass for the souls of Daundy and his family, and also for Wolsey and his parents.

Ipswich was astir from 1528 to 1532 with the grand beginnings, and the abject ending, of Wolsey's project for "St. Mary Cardinal College of Ipswich." He planned this college to consist of a president, twelve fellows, priests, and eight clerks. A schoolmaster and eight ushers were to teach grammar to fifty poor

boys from far and wide in the kingdom. Twelve old men were to pray for the soul of King Henry VIII. and the Cardinal. The scholars were to proceed from Ipswich to "Cardinal's College," Oxford, just as Winchester already fed New College, Oxford, and Eton, King's College, Cambridge.

Wolsey first contemplated using for his Ipswich college a site in St. Matthew's parish connected with the chapel of Our Lady, where miracles attributed to a golden image of the Blessed Virgin had attracted numerous pilgrims, Catherine of Aragon and King Henry VIII. among them. The Cardinal had for some years been treating with the Pope for indulgences to induce pilgrims visiting this chapel to pray for his own soul. In March, 1528, however, the Duke of Norfolk surveyed the more extensive site of St. Peter's Priory, and advised that large money could be saved by erecting the buildings there. By June, 1528 the priory had been seized and used for the beginnings of the Ipswich college, and the Bishop of Lincoln laid the foundation stone on the 15th June.

Wolsey's colleges at Oxford and Ipswich were planned with all his accustomed grandiose magnificence. Lesser monasteries in number were assigned to the scheme with all their possessions. Not only were the canons ejected from the priory of St. Peter's; the very parishioners of St. Peter's parish church were bidden to transfer themselves either to St. Nicholas or to St. Mary Quay, for the church was to be absorbed into the college.

A Bull from Pope Clement VII. exempted the inmates of the new colleges from all save papal jurisdiction so that they might the more readily give their labour to learning. The royal charters and licences were exquisitely drawn with miniatures, arms and portraits. By September, 1528, boys were already in residence, prepared to use the Latin grammar and to follow the course of studies sent down by their patron, and to enjoy his unusual instructions that their "tender youth be not discouraged by severe blows or threatening faces."

Wolsey proposed that the Ipswich college should open with a more magnificent pageant than the Corpus Christi procession with which his boyhood had been familiar. For this purpose, he sent in 1528, his most learned and active followers, Doctor Stephen Gardiner, whose eloquence had secured the Papal Bulls, Thomas Cromwell, his man of law, destined to become the "Hammer of Monasteries," and the notorious Doctor Rowland Lee, who brought to the college rich copes, fine vestments and magnificent jewels and ornaments.

These men with the dean, fellows, choirmen and choristers of the new college and with numbers of neighbouring magnates kept the Eve of the Nativity of Our Lady at the chapel of St. Mary on Monday, 6 September, 1528. But the very wealth of the preparations marred the occasion. On the Tuesday, rain poured down. Neither the dean nor the visitors ventured to expose the rich vestments to such weather in the streets, through which they had intended to go in procession from St. Peter's by the waterside to the Lady Chapel just without the West Gate.

The procession was thus confined to the college itself. Country gentlemen and eager burgesses looked on from the churchyard and crowded the wet streets. The bailiffs, portmen and councillors assisted in the celebration and partook of a banquet of venison supplied by local nobility at the behest of the local butcher's son.

Congestion upon the site of the new college grew as Master Daundy, Wolsey's family friend, unloaded ton after ton of Caen stone and piled up timbers and lead for the new building. The schoolmaster, William Goodwin, complained of the scanty room for his pupils when he sent specimens of their handwriting in the latest Italian script to his patron in January, 1529.

The Cardinal was then still seeking the use of a whole quarry at Caen to supply his two colleges with stone, and much of the Ipswich building "curiously worked" was above ground by July, 1529. The corporation, grateful to Wolsey for thus giving

prominence to his native town, transferred to the Ipswich college the properties of their ancient school. All seemed well on the way to completion.

But by the return of the feast of Our Lady (6 September, 1529), the great Cardinal's fall was imminent and he himself was forbidden the court. Then came his indictment for offences against the Statute of Praemunire, and the loss of his great possessions. The fate of his colleges hung in the balance. Their endowments were in the more danger since they were in his own name. In spite of Gardiner's pleadings, the King ordered the dissolution of the Ipswich foundation though preserving something of the college that is now Christchurch at Oxford.

Formalities for the suppression of the Ipswich college were completed by an enquiry before four commissioners sitting at the neighbouring priory of Woodbridge, 19, September, 1530. Their finding that its endowments were forfeit under the Statute of Praemunire was a foregone conclusion, although two of them, at least, had shared the opening ceremonies and banquet.

The borough contrived to recover the endowment of its ancient school. The site of the half-built college was granted to Thomas Alvard, who becoming paymaster of Henry VIII.'s new works at York House (later Whitehall) in Westminster, in 1532 shipped the remaining "stuff", timber and lead, wainscots and white stone of divers kinds by sea from Ipswich to the Galley Key by London Tower, to be used for the king's buildings at Westminster.

Robbed thus of its growing glory, the site of Wolsey's College in Ipswich was devoted to secular uses, and was eventually occupied by malt-houses. The parishioners recovered their church of St. Peter. Near to it stand the remains of the college, a short length of dividing wall, and a simple Tudor gateway in red brick, surmounted with the arms of King Henry VIII.

The method used by Cardinal Wolsey in seizing religious houses and their properties for the endowment of his colleges set an example which was readily followed by King Henry VIII. and his advisers, when they determined to replenish the exchequer, and their own purses, from the wealth which so many monasteries had amassed.

Royal commissioners visited Holy Trinity priory to take an inventory of its simple possessions in August, 1536. On the 9th February following, the house was entirely suppressed. After the canons had fallen, the friars only awaited their turn, meantime finding it impossible to collect enough for their daily food or to add to the number of their novices. The Carmelites and Dominicans tried for a year or two to maintain themselves by selling away the fringes of their precincts.

Thomas Lord Wentworth who had inherited the patronage of the Grey Friars and was a zealous supporter of the New Religion, complained in April, 1538, that these friars were selling the jewels of their house to get a bare livelihood, since Ipswich people preferred giving to the poor and the impotent rather than to this "idle nest of drones," belonging to an order which he likened to a "hypocritical weed . . . planted by . . . the Bishop of Rome."

A royal Visitor soon came down to look into the condition of this house, took away its goods to the Black Friars' monastery, secured the plate which had been pledged to Lord Wentworth himself and the sacred vessels and vestments which the archdeacon had purchased, and awaited instructions from Court before pulling down the priory. It was not left long; and in November, 1538 the White Friars and Black Friars of Ipswich were also suppressed.

Regard for the regular clergy had been dwindling in Ipswich for at least a century. During this time the bishops' visitations had revealed a certain slackening of early high ideals, a disinclination among the canons of St. Peter's to rise in time for mattins

or to appoint a master for their novices, and a significant tendency to insolence among the servants of Holy Trinity priory.

The townspeople also can scarcely have preserved any great respect for the clergy of these houses when it was possible at a single session (7 Edw. IV.) for charges to be brought against one of the canons, the prior of the White Friars, the late prior of the Black Friars and an Ipswich chaplain by a weaver, a barber, a glover and a carver respectively, each complaining of offences against his wife.

Moreover, the people had many opportunities for learning the doctrines of Protestant reformers. Thomas Bilney, the able wandering preacher, disputed vigorously with Friar Bruisyard in the chapel of St. George's, Ipswich, before his arrest by Cardinal Wolsey in 1527. And Bilney's scorn of pilgrimages and image-worship was shared by others, such as John Tybăll, of Steeple Bumpstead, who refused to come to Ipswich upon pilgrimage with his godmother, saying she would do better to give her spare money to the poor.

Wolsey's attempt to attract new pilgrims to the figure of Our Lady of Grace at the head of Lady Lane ended only in its fall. One night in the year 1535 the golden image, with its magnificent coat, was smuggled out of the town to the king's exchequer at Westminster. Its memory lasted. In the second Book of Homilies (1563), Our Lady of Ipswich with Our Lady of Walsingham and Our Lady of Willesden were held up as evil examples of the type of idolatry which the Greeks had practised in setting up figures like that of Diana of the Ephesians, thus "spoiling the true living God of His due honour in . . . cities."

The people of Ipswich, imbibing such doctrines, abandoned the purchase or maintenance of prayers for the souls of the dead. The chantry chaplains endowed by Edmund Daundy in the Church of St. Lawrence and by one, Alfrey in the church of St. Matthew were pensioned off. The goods of the gilds which had been devoted to the "superstitious use" of prayers for the souls

of the dead and all the superfluous ornaments of the parish churches were seized by the king. Gild members and parishioners submitted or feigned to submit, their minds filled with the new Lutheran, Zwinglian or Calvinistic doctrines, which flooded in upon them from the near continent.

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Chapter VI

PURITAN IPSWICH

THE ease with which the port of Ipswich could be entered from the Low Countries gave the place a short-lived literary importance in the first uneasy years of the English Reformation. Unbound books were smuggled into the town in casks. Some were bound there by John Hawus, a Dutchman. One, at least, was published in Ipswich in 1534 by a Frisian, Reginald Oliver, otherwise Vytar, whose stall stood in the Fishmarket, and who also for a short time held a part of the Carmelite property below its west gate in what is now Queen's Street.

The first Ipswich printing press belonged to an Englishman, Anthony Scoloker, who was perhaps brought to the town by the local physician-schoolmaster-priest, Richard Argentine. Translations made by Scoloker and Argentine and printed by the former, provided Ipswich people with works of Luther and Zwingli and of other Continental reformers in the English tongue. Scoloker left for London in 1548; but in that year John Oswen, another Ipswich printer, produced books by Calvin and Melancthon, as well as a local treatise in verse by one Peter Moone, who wrote about "certain things abused in the Popish Church long used."

Propaganda against the pope also took the form of plays. The vituperative ex-Carmelite John Bale, who is said to have been prior of the Ipswich Carmelites, wrote a drama in defence of King John, showing "how he was of God a magistrate appointed . . . to see maintained the true faith and religion." Bale was of Suffolk birth and used Ipswich, or pretended to use

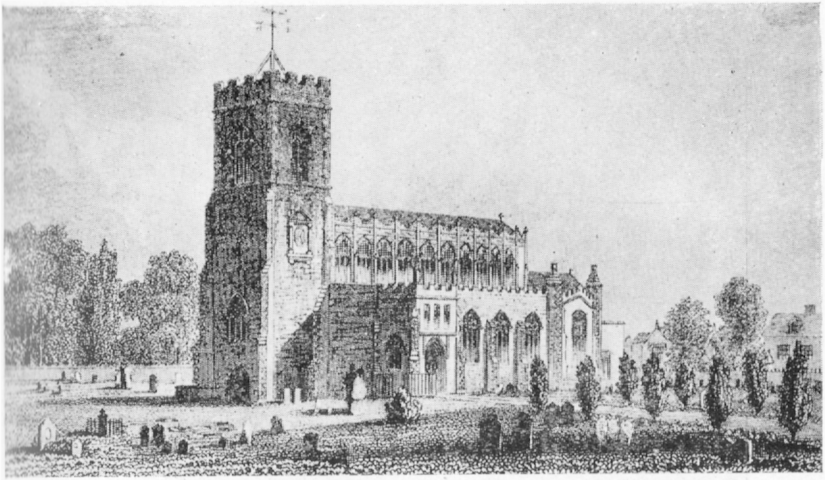
it, as a place of publication for his famous *Catalogue of British Writers*, which was actually printed in Wesel.

The poet, Peter Moone, found himself in trouble, after the accession of Queen Mary, and spent some months in the Tower of London. Worse things were to follow. The queen was supported by men of various opinions when she paused at Ipswich for two days in 1553 on her way from Framlingham to claim her crown in London; but the Protestants of Ipswich were soon to long for her successor. They had already witnessed executions of Lutherans and others by burning in the last years of Henry VIII's reign. The first Marian martyrs of Ipswich came from the countryside around. Such was Robert Sammuell, a minister of East Bergholt, who was burned at the stake here in 1555, and of whom it was written a few years later:

When Sammuell did firmly fight
Till flesh and blood to ashes went . . .
We wished for our Elizabeth.

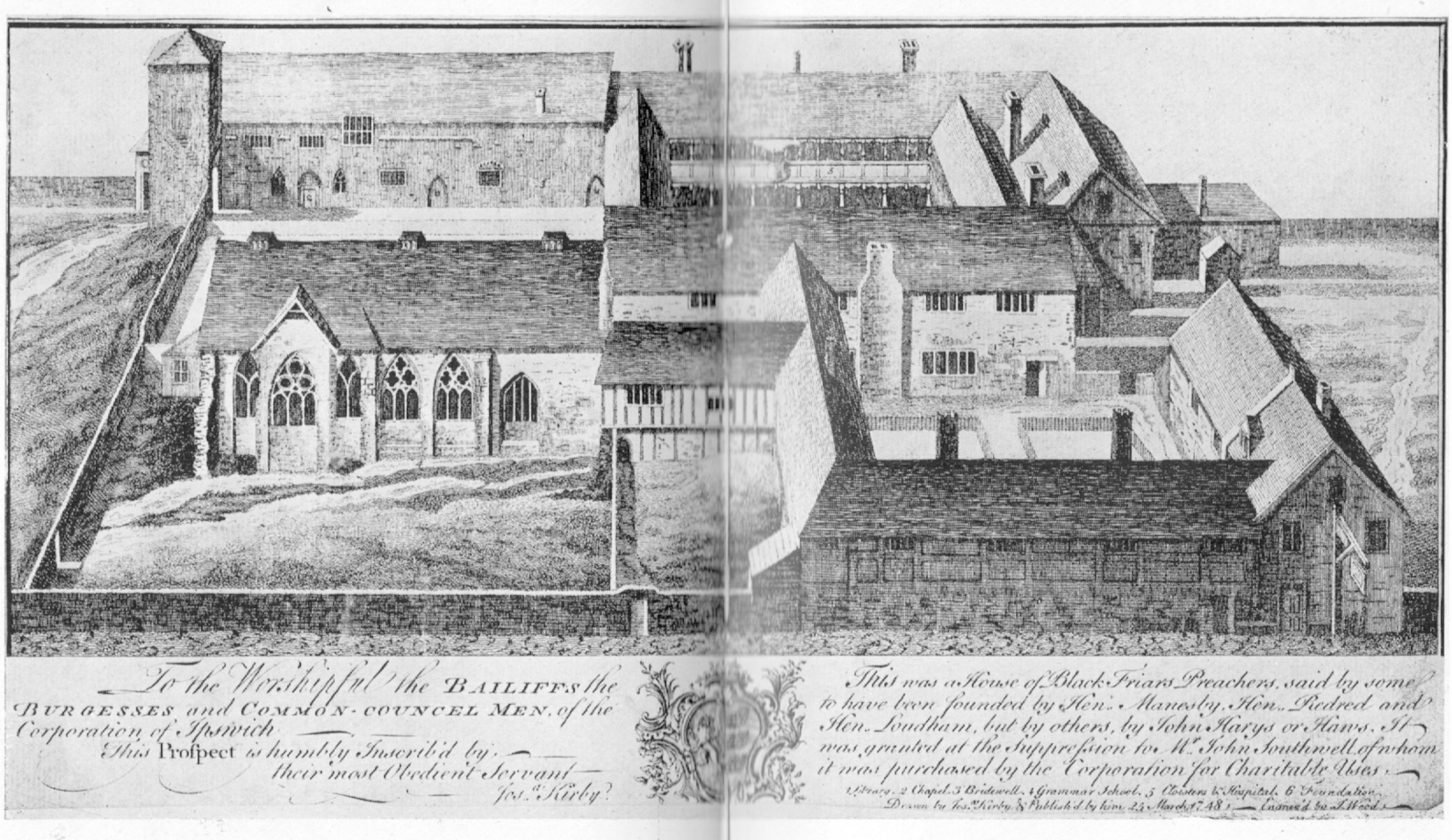
In the year after Sammuell's death, two women of Ipswich, one the wife of a shoemaker of St Mary Elms, the other married to a rich brewer of St. Helen's, were similarly burned upon Cornhill, being fastened with irons to a sixpenny stake and surrounded with piles of broom and faggots. Their deaths are recorded in John Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* or *Book of Martyrs*, a work which was so much in demand that it passed through four editions in twenty years. Its graphic description of these martyrdoms kept alive for many generations the bitterness and the pride which they aroused.

Ipswich thus became a strongly puritanical centre in a strongly Puritan county. Indeed, there was one year during the Marian reaction when two only of the parish churches were provided with a priest, so many ministers had fled and so little support was lent to the churches. The Protestant reformers had taken no care to preserve any maintenance for the incumbents in these parishes. When they took the tithes and other endow-



23. ST. MARGARET'S CHURCH. *Engraving by Capone.*

24. GATEWAY TO WOLSEY'S COLLEGE. *Engraving by Capone.*


To the Worshipful the BAILIFFS the BURGESSES and COMMON-COUNCEL MEN of the Corporation of Ipswich
This Prospect is humbly Inscribid by
their most Obedient Servant
Jos.h Kirby?
This was a House of Black Friars Preachers, said by some to have been founded by Hen.y Manesley, Hen.y Pedred and Hen.y Southam, but by others, by John Harys or Haws. It was granted at the Suppression to M.r John Southwell of whom it was purchased by the Corporation for Charitable Uses.
1 Friars 2 Chapel 3 Bridewell 4 Grammar School 5 Cloisters 6 Hospital 6 Foundation
Drawn by Jos.h Kirby & Published by him 25 March 1748 — Engraved by A. Wood

25. WEST VIEW OF CHRIST'S HOSPITAL (SITE OF THE BLACK FRIARS' PRIORY) 1748.

From a drawing by Joshua Kirby.

26. CARDINAL WOLSEY WITH HIS COLLEGE AT OXFORD.
From the portrait at Christ Church, Oxford.

ments from the priories which previously served the parish churches they alienated these funds to private individuals leaving little or no support for the clergy.

Queen Elizabeth, in visiting the town upon her summer progress in 1561, expressed her displeasure at the slackness of the clergy in her usual blunt way. She was a stickler for her own church settlement, took offence at the refusal of some of the ministers to wear the surplice, and held an intense dislike for married clergy. It was upon this visit to Ipswich that she issued her well-known orders that no women should be allowed within cathedrals and colleges. The new bishop of Norwich, John Parkhurst, himself a Puritan, took a great interest in this part of his diocese, and bought Curson House as an episcopal residence in place of the manor of Bishop's Wicks, which had been surrendered to Henry VIII.

In Parkhurst's time, the corporation set about re-organising the Ipswich parishes. They added to their Act for paving the town in 1571 clauses enabling them in conjunction with the churchwardens of each parish to raise a rate, to repair the church and pay the minister. The freeman who refused to pay thus for his preacher was to be dis-franchised. The Borough Assembly took pains to provide learned and able divines who would preach those long sermons, weekday and Sunday, which became an essential part of the lives of the towns-people. All business was at a standstill during these public lectures on Wednesdays and Fridays. The public preachers were men of notable eloquence frequently drawn from the University of Cambridge, and including such able men as Dr. Roger Kelke, who had returned from exile in Zurich and was Master of Magdalene. The corporation looked askance at others, rejecting Mr. "Bodleighe," whom the courtier, Sir Francis Walsingham, tried to thrust upon them.

"Silver-tongued" Samuel Ward won the hearts of his Ipswich hearers as lecturer from 1603 to 1635 by his downright speaking

and his homely metaphor; but his love of caricature outran discretion in politics as in religion. He was imprisoned for publishing caricatures calculated to offend the court of Spain when the English court was seeking a Spanish alliance, was again prosecuted for Nonconformity in 1622, and was entirely suspended from preaching in 1635.

The renown of Ipswich Puritanism was widespread. Even the waiting woman in a court play called *The City Match* was described as so "inspired from Ipswich that she modelled her sweetmeats from the Actes and Monumentes of John Foxe." "We eat martyrs," complained her mistress.

Politics and religion were inextricably mixed in the minds of Ipswich people under the Stuarts. At the time of Ward's silencing, the town was resisting attempts by bishop and archdeacon and by the Visitor sent down by Archbishop Laud to bring individualistic private chaplains and public lecturers into full conformity with the standards of reverence and worship of the archbishop. The Visitor, it is true, was solemnly received by the magistrates. Nevertheless he proceeded to report the town "exceeding factious" and to excommunicate "precise" churchwardens, and to suspend the minister of St. Helen's for giving the eucharist to persons who did not kneel.

The whole county was also about to revolt against the arbitrary tax called Ship Money, which was the more oppressive because it fell at a time when prosperity was waning. "These dangerous times" created a new kind of traffic in the port of Ipswich. Suffolk men were led to seek in the New World greater prosperity and a larger freedom from the particular religious control which so greatly irked them; although they themselves were far from ready to allow religious freedom to others. Cargo vessels of Ipswich and Yarmouth were converted into passenger ships; and from 1634 onwards Ipswich master mariners, such as William Andrews and John Cutting, frequently left the quaysides with a

freight of emigrants for New England, and Yarmouth vessels sometimes touched at Ipswich to pick up passengers for Boston in Massachusetts.

This increasing emigration greatly alarmed the archdeacon's commissary, Henry Dade, who warned Archbishop Laud in 1634 that two ships each carrying 120 passengers were about to sail for New England, and that these were doubtless either indebted persons or malcontents, roused by the preaching of Mr. Ward against set forms of prayer, or urged to emigrate by Timothy Dalton, of Wolverstone, who was a great "stickler for transporting these people." The Privy Council thereupon ordered that everyone embarking should take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy.

Commissary Dade himself was already far from popular with the people of Ipswich, since he had reported to the secretary of the Admiralty in 1633 that fresh privileges which the borough was trying to obtain in its new charter would be prejudicial to the Crown.

If the archdeacon's official was disliked, so was the bishop himself. Matthew Wren, then bishop of Norwich, was sneeringly nicknamed "Little Pope Regulus." His introduction of high church practices, his suppression of unlicensed lectures upon Sunday afternoons, and his encouragement of the reading of the *Book of Sports*, which declared liberty of recreation upon Sundays, all roused the anger of Puritan Ipswich.

This feeling was voiced by the pamphleteer, William Prynne, who, under the name of "Mathew White," wrote and published *Newes from Ipswich*, a tract declaring the discovery of the "detestable practices" of "Domineering Prelates" in extirpating "orthodox sincere preachers" and "ushering in popery." Prynne indeed suffered for his temerity. Having already lost his ears for his tract *Histriomastrix*, he was now sentenced to lose the roots of them, to be branded on both cheeks with the letters "S.L." for "Seditious Libeller," and to be imprisoned for

life. Bishop Wren in his turn suffered four years' imprisonment later when the tables had been turned by the impeachment of Archbishop Laud in 1640.

These unhappy dissensions raised the question of the appointment of the ministers to those churches, for which the bailiffs and churchwardens had raised rates under the act of 1571, and for a time the Privy Council ordered that the king should appoint to five of these churches; but the order was subsequently reversed.

Still the uncertainties of the time made it difficult for the town to persuade "Godly and able ministers" to settle within it. In 1641 the bailiffs complained to the House of Commons on this score, adding that "as a populous port town subsisting chiefly by clothing (i.e., the cloth trade) and shipping they quickly suffered deeply in the decay of trading and merchant affairs and from defects in defence and the unhappy misunderstanding between the King and Parliament." So, declaring their loyalty both to the Protestant religion and to the king's person, they petitioned for a reform in church government, and for the proper securing of the town against enemies, as well as for the safeguarding of the Narrow Seas by persons in whom Parliament should confide. This seventeenth century echo of Chaucer's merchant who

Wolde the see were kept for anything
Bitwixe Middelburgh and Orewelle

could not bridge the deep breach between King and Parliament, and in 1643 the town was busily fortifying itself against the king's forces. Yet the shock of Charles I.'s execution six years later induced the borough recorder, Nathaniel Bacon, parliamentarian as he was, to end his *Annals of Ipswich History* with the words:

The last daye, of Januarie puts a sad period to my penn. And thus, by the goodness of Allmightie God, I have summed

up the affaires of the government of this town of Ippswiche under bayliffes whoe are happie in this, that God hathe established their seate more sure than the throne of kings.

The town, like the county surrounding it, was predominantly parliamentarian. Its Puritan rulers, freed from the control of the bishop, put their tenets into full practice. Lecturers were appointed by the bailiffs, and the parishioners in many churches chose their ministers as before. There was no sporting or playing, no walking on the quay or in the fields, no unnecessary rowing in boats, no bathing or washing in the river, no leaping nor running nor sporting with horses on the Sabbath day. The very butchers petitioned to change the meat market from the Saturday to the Friday, the better to preserve the Lord's Day from profanation. But this was a matter for Parliament; besides, some pointed out that meat would not keep till the Monday, and others that the country butchers would all the same keep their Saturday market at home, and so the town market would suffer.

Men found at this time a particular delight in the pleasures of witch-hunting, and a single parish was ready in 1644 to expend £3 3s. 6d. upon the burning of the unfortunate Widow Lackland, who confessed to having sold herself to the devil from whom she acquired three imps in the shape of two dogs and a mole.

Ardent Republicans defaced the arms of Charles I., which hung in the Moot Hall and substituted those of the State. William Hempson, a man of many parts, who registered births, deaths and marriages in the parish of St. Lawrence, rang the bells when the bailiffs beat the bounds, and with the aid of a trumpeter proclaimed Oliver Cromwell Protector. But the town, wearied by disorders and difficulties of a republican government, joyfully greeted Charles II.'s restoration with the ringing of bells, the firing of guns upon "Little Bolton," and a costly banquet at the home of the devoted Royalist, Mr. Sparrowe.

The introduction of the new Book of Common Prayer into the parish churches was less readily accepted; and "Black Bartholomew Day" in 1662 saw the departure of several among the Ipswich incumbents. Benjamin Stoneham, for example, being a fanatic zealous for the millennium, left his "gathered church" in St. Peter's and was eventually imprisoned in Newgate Gaol for persisting in preaching in his London lodgings.

The rector of St. Helen's, who had become pastor of a Congregationalist church there before the Restoration, eventually removed to Coggeshall. Although other ministers conformed, some Presbyterians and Independents remained and in 1672, after the Declaration of Indulgence, obtained a licence to meet in "The Grey Friars' House" in St. Nicholas parish with Owen Stockton, a Presbyterian, as their minister, thus initiating the Presbyterian church which later met in what is now the Unitarian Chapel.

Independents formed a distinct Congregational Church in 1686, and in 1718 moved from their original chapel in Green Yard to Tacket Street, where they purchased the site which has ever since been an active centre for Ipswich and Suffolk Congregationalists.

The Society of Friends registered births among their members from 1663 onwards and purchased as a burial ground a site upon Tower Ditches. These early Friends met with persecution; neither did they mince their own words against their neighbours. George Whitehead from Ipswich prison exhorted the teachers and people of Ipswich against the "pride, high mindedness and self-conceitedness" which abounded in their town.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, however, the Friends were accepted as men of peace as well as of substance. They had built their first meeting house in 1700 in College Street, and erected a new house upon an adjoining site in 1796. Bank Street was named after the "Yellow" Bank which flourished

under the direction of the Alexander family, descendants of that William Alexander of Needham, who in 1657 had suffered imprisonment for refusing to pay a fine for promulgating the faith which was in him.

The Friends in Ipswich were greatly strengthened by the arrival of such staunch supporters as the Ransome family. All onlookers were impressed by the simple dignity of the funeral ceremony, when James Ransome was brought in 1850 to the meeting house graveyard in Bank Street from his Rushmere home, with a silent procession of 800 apprentices, clerks, operatives and labourers, walking four abreast and followed by the mayor and members of the corporation.

It is impossible to assess how much the evils of the industrial revolution in this town were mitigated by the philanthropy of the Quaker community, who established dwellings for single workmen, started Ragged Schools, and set up a place of training for domestic servants.

A later drift from outside the town brought in from the country two active and growing sects, the Baptists and the Methodists. The first Baptist meeting at Stoke Green was an offshoot from the Baptists of Wolverstone who met at the Cat House there; and the trustees for the Ipswich meeting at Stoke included farmers of Wolverstone, Freston, Foxhall and Barham as well as an Ipswich ironmonger.

As this denomination grew with increases in the population of the town, its meetings were transferred to more imposing buildings, notably "Bethesda," which was erected by a Gloucestershire alderman as a memorial to his mother, who had been baptised in the Orwell at the age of fifteen.

The Wesleyan Methodists developed similarly from a mission appointed from Colchester in 1808 to follow up the work of a local preacher from Belstead, William Nunn. The early Methodists tried to preach upon the Cornhill, but were forced

to betake themselves to "The Bolton." Their church in Old Market Lane was likewise superseded by a larger, modern Gothic building in Museum Street.

While Nonconformity was thus developing, the fourteen parish churches were grappling with an increasing burden of secular work, thrust upon their vestries, churchwardens, overseers and surveyors of highways. The word "parish" thus became chiefly associated in men's minds with the payment of church rates or with the gloomiest prospect of the small parish workhouse. Under this parochial system at the opening of the nineteenth century, the Ipswich labourers became half-pauperised until the new Poor Law of 1837 resulted in the formation of a Union for the whole borough. Then a single union house was erected at a cost of £6,000 and was managed by its first governor rather in the spirit of the new law than in its harsher letter.

The town lectureship dwindled to the appointment of a non-graduate. The ministers, during the factious period of the eighteenth century, gained some independence of the corporation by grants from Queen Anne's Bounty, made upon condition that the rate to be levied for their support should not be diminished. To this day, Ipswich is remarkable for the fact that four out of the five churches, which were controlled under the Elizabethan Paving Act, elect their own incumbents. The patronage of the fifth, St. Mary Tower, has passed to the bishop. And the evangelical character of the other ancient churches has persisted through the acquisition of the benefices by such bodies as Simeon's Trustees. The medieval buildings were ruthlessly restored in the mid-nineteenth century, when, for example, the borough church of St. Mary Tower was entirely reconstructed largely from benefactions by the Tory banker, C. E. Bacon. The church of St. Matthew's near the West Gate became the garrison church for the neighbouring barracks and was

30.

NEVVES FROM IPSWICH:

Diſcovering certaine late deteſtable practices of ſome dominiering Lordly Prelates, to undermine the eſtabliſhed Doctrine and Diſcipline of our Church, extirpate all Orthodox ſincere Preachers and preaching of Gods Word, uſher in Popery, Superſtition and Idolatry.

Woe be unto the Paſtors that deſtroy and ſcatter the ſheep of my Flocke, ſaith the Lord. Ierem. 23. 1.

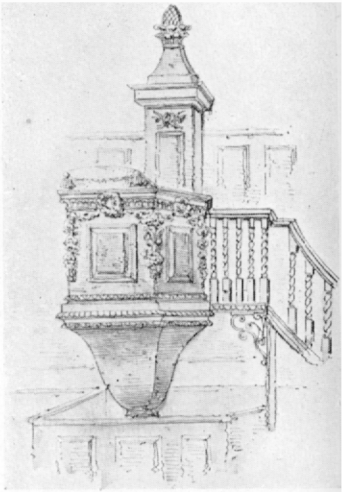
Firſt printed at Ipſwich, and now reprinted for *T. Bates.* 1641.

27. TITLE PAGE OF "NEWES FROM IPSWICH."

From the reprint of 1641.

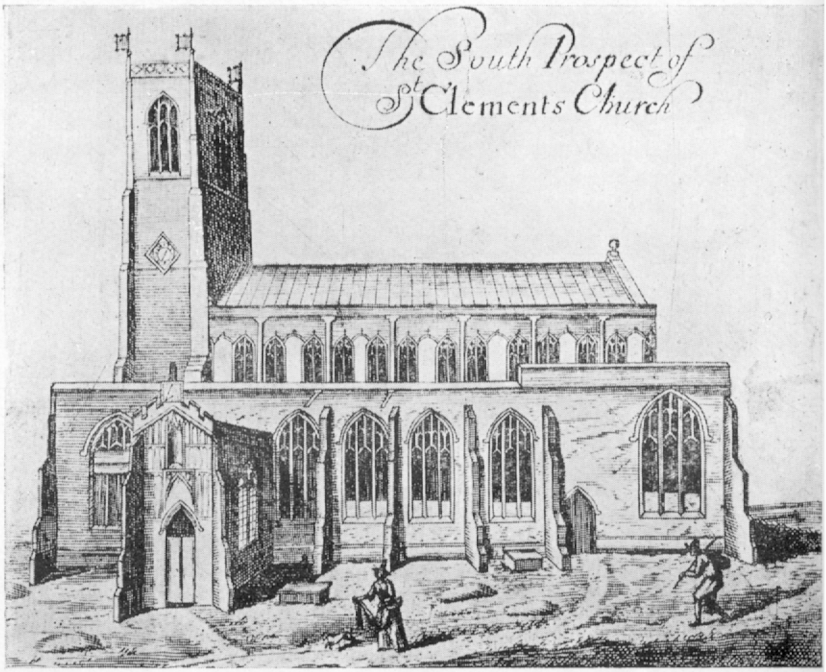
28. PULPIT IN THE UNITARIAN CHAPEL.

From a water-colour by E. Pococke.



29. Below: SOUTH PROSPECT OF ST. CLEMENT'S CHURCH.

From Ogilby's Plan of Ipswich.



three times "restored" during the nineteenth century. The flint work of the tower of St. Lawrence became completely rotten and this tower was restored and re-cased in 1881. Its present fine diaper work was based by the architect, Mr. Frederick Barnes, upon drawings of the original building.

Parish after parish has been formed to meet the needs of the growing town, from the time when the Rev. J. T. Nottidge, an extensive landowner and patron of the church of St. Clement, built and endowed in 1838 the new church of Holy Trinity, to serve the increased population of St. Clement's.

Such churches as St. Michael's in the eastern suburbs and All Saints in the north west, or St. John the Baptist, Cauldwell, were built to meet the later expansions of the 1880s and 1890s. The foundation and endowment of St. Bartholomew's, under the influence of the Anglo-Catholic revival, in 1895, was effected in face of opposition from the evangelical school of thought; for here was an entirely new development in the form of Ipswich worship. A generation later, another private benefactor, Charles Bantoft, built the church of St. Augustine Hippo to serve the needs of a new district built up under the corporation town planning scheme.

By this time, the town had become the See of a new bishopric of St. Edmundsbury and Ipswich, created in 1914. The ancient jealousies between Ipswich and Bury were in this way solved by placing the bishop's residence in Ipswich and his cathedral in Bury.

Meantime, the influx of new population, independent of the old local traditions, had modified the puritanical spirit which had so distinguished the townspeople for four centuries. Ipswich would no longer contemplate the changing of its market day to preserve sabbath-keeping. In the year 1947, it voted with an overwhelming majority for the opening of cinemas on Sundays.

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Chapter VII

THE COUNTY TOWN OF SUFFOLK

IPSWICH has always been the county town of Suffolk in that it has been the place where Shire Moots and County Courts have met, and where business concerning the whole shire has been transacted. Attempts to make use of other centres in the county have always been short-lived. Thus Saxmundham was for a few years only the headquarters of the police when this body was first separately organised for East Suffolk.

Several important meetings have been held upon occasion at Stowmarket, such as the general meeting to raise money for a ship of war, the "Suffolk," in 1782, or the conference which initiated the Suffolk Society for the Education of the Poor for the whole of Suffolk in 1812.

But the dream of Sir Simonds Dewes, who contemplated making Stowmarket the county town, was doomed to failure and could hardly have come from anyone springing from the older Suffolk families, better acquainted with the layout and the ancient traditions of the shire. Even so rural an event as the first meeting of the Suffolk Agricultural Society was held at Ipswich, at the "White Horse," in 1819.

The knights of the shire for Suffolk have been chosen at Ipswich since the first development of Parliament, and many freeholders came long distances to poll. No wonder that the Mowbray interest in 1467 made a rich feast at Ipswich to sustain their supporters on 20th April, when Sir John Howard, of Stoke Nayland, then Keeper of the Wardrobe to Edward IV., and Master Thomas Brewes, of Akenham, were returned.

The sheriff's officers had their work cut out to summon freeholders throughout the county to such elections. Thomas

Kerridge, sheriff in 1705, set down the methods to be used. His bailiffs must make proclamation in market towns such as Halesworth, between the hours of noon and three upon a market day, that a certain day had been appointed for the free and indifferent election of two fit and discreet persons to serve as knights with their swords girt in the coming Parliament, and that Ipswich would be the place appointed for the poll. The same proclamation must be made in a full "county" at Ipswich, and the bailiffs, burgesses and commonalty of Ipswich there present would, upon the sheriff's warrant, also proceed to elect their representatives.

Elections of knights of the shire were by no means always "free" or "indifferent." The sheriffs who examined the claims made by freemen upon oath, exercised a strong control over the polling. The "gentry" who rode in from outside, had many means of buying or of compelling votes.

Elections took place on the open space of Cornhill, and could be settled by a mere view by the sheriff, as he did at a bye-election in 1707. Then a "mountebank quack," named Mose, caused his chair to be carried immediately behind that of the "gentry's candidate," Leicester Martin, Esquire, the owner of Christchurch Mansion in right of his wife; but when the sheriff directed each party to take up its own side of the hill, Martin's supporters mustered a crowd which looked like some fifteen hundred, and Mose was backed only by a few Quakers and a large number of voteless women and boys.

Upon occasion the chairing of the successful candidates became magnificent in its pageantry. In 1818, Sir Thomas Gooch and Sir William Rowley were elected at a tumultuous meeting which at one time developed into stone-throwing. In the afternoon the two members were chaired round the Hill. Gooch, clad in a blue silk coat, white satin waistcoat embroidered, black silk small clothes and a bag wig, and girt with his sword, sat aloft in a chair decorated with laurel, flowers and blue ribbons,

and was preceded by a band of "gay and blooming nymphs" in pure white decked with blue ribbons. Rowley, in a puce-coloured suit, occupied a chair as gaily decorated with orange ribbons. And in the evening all the freeholders dined with their members in the somewhat cramped space of the (old) Assembly Rooms.

The exact place for the early meetings of the Shire Moot is hard to locate. It would be in the open and probably upon the rising ground east of the Ramparts near the house of the Black Friars. Here stood "Shirehouse Hill" and upon or near it the "Shirehouses" in the 13th and 14th centuries.

It was probably in these "Shirehouses" that King Edward III.'s justices of the peace sat in 1362 to hear presentments made by juries from each hundred of East Suffolk, including those within the Liberty of St. Etheldreda, when the good men and true of Wilford Hundred found that Robert le Goos had encouraged other labourers to stand out for a wage of 3d. a day with food, because he himself would take no less, or those from Carlford Hundred complained that a certain skilled ploughman and carter had given up this work to earn 20s. a year and his keep from a twill-weaver in Woodbridge.

But by 1399, the Shirehouses had so fallen into disrepair, and the Exchequer had been so unwilling to allow the sheriff any building fund, that there was no house at all in Ipswich where County Courts might be kept, or where the justices of assize might sit, only an empty site. Upon this a new house was ordered to be built at a cost of £20.

The County Sessions House, at the end of the seventeenth century, occupied a site on the west side of the present Market Lane in the heart of the town and near to the old county gaol.

It was in this Sessions Hall that the Suffolk justices in Quarter Sessions for the southern part of the "Geldable" of (East) Suffolk dealt with the numerous administrative problems thrust upon

them, refusing permission for the building of a cottage at Stratford St. Mary, ordering John Browne and his wife, who had taken possession of the church porch of Coddenham, to move to a more "convenient" home found for them by the parish, fixing the rent to be paid to an Ipswich mariner for the County Powder Magazine, inquiring into a dispute between Copdock parish and the gaolkeeper of Ipswich as to charges made for witches, or sending an "idle spinster" back from Redlingfield to work at Newbourne.

All these matters brought people from the country to the town, and Ipswich was eager to increase this number by the removal of assizes thither also. The King's judges had used Ipswich as well as Bury upon occasion when the King's Bench was still mobile in the 12th and 13th centuries. The justices itinerant had also sat at either place apparently until the Sessions House decayed in the fourteenth century. Thereafter the judges found Bury a more convenient stage upon their circuit between Cambridge and Thetford; but private influence occasionally brought them to Ipswich. The notorious Lord Chief Justice Jeffrey sat here in 1685, even though the Common Hall needed propping up to make it safe for such an assembly. Ipswich, led by its member of Parliament, Sir Samuel Barnardiston, attempted to attract the assize judges in 1698 by erecting a new and up-to-date Sessions House upon a site behind Christchurch Hospital, receiving a grant of £300 from the county towards the building.

But the new premises did not compensate for the longer distance to be covered; or perhaps the judges were dissuaded by the greater comforts to be had at Bury; for in alarm, the corporation of Bury St. Edmunds called upon the butchers and the bakers of that town, as the tradesmen most likely to benefit by the concourse at Assizes, to subscribe towards especially respectful and generous entertainment of the judges, so

that they might the more appreciate the advantages of being there. It was only the fear of smallpox raging in Bury in 1740 which drove the judges to the new hall at Ipswich for the time being, until the rapid increase in the population and importance of Ipswich made a change imperative. This was effected in 1839 when it became customary to divide the assizes between the two towns.

In that year the Sessions House built in 1698 was abandoned as unsafe for public business, and new courts for sessions and assizes, together with apartments for the Clerk of the Peace, were established in front of the county gaol in the parish of St. Helen's a little eastward of the old town. This site has since developed into a centre for county business for all East Suffolk, being used for the County Council's offices since the Local Government Act of 1888, and re-planned from time to time to meet the growing and multifarious functions of the council. It had first come into use as a site for a new county gaol in 1786. The gaol had previously been situated at different times in various parts of the old town. The new gaol in St. Helen's was planned in 1786 along lines recommended by the philanthropist, John Howard. It was among the first buildings of the kind, having separate divisions for felons and for debtors, for males and for females; and in 1821 there was installed a treadmill, the invention of the Ipswich engineer, William Cubitt.

Ipswich has maintained its pre-eminence in the county in face of disadvantages, the chief being its position in the far south-eastern corner of Suffolk. In the Middle Ages, the waterway into the heart of the county compensated in part for this drawback. Transport of heavier goods, wine, salt or stone up the Gipping may then have been possible as far as the village of Rattlesden. The monks of Bury certainly believed that the stone for re-building their church in the time of William the Conqueror was brought up the river thus by Abbot Baldwin. Lydgate, the

monk and poet wrote:

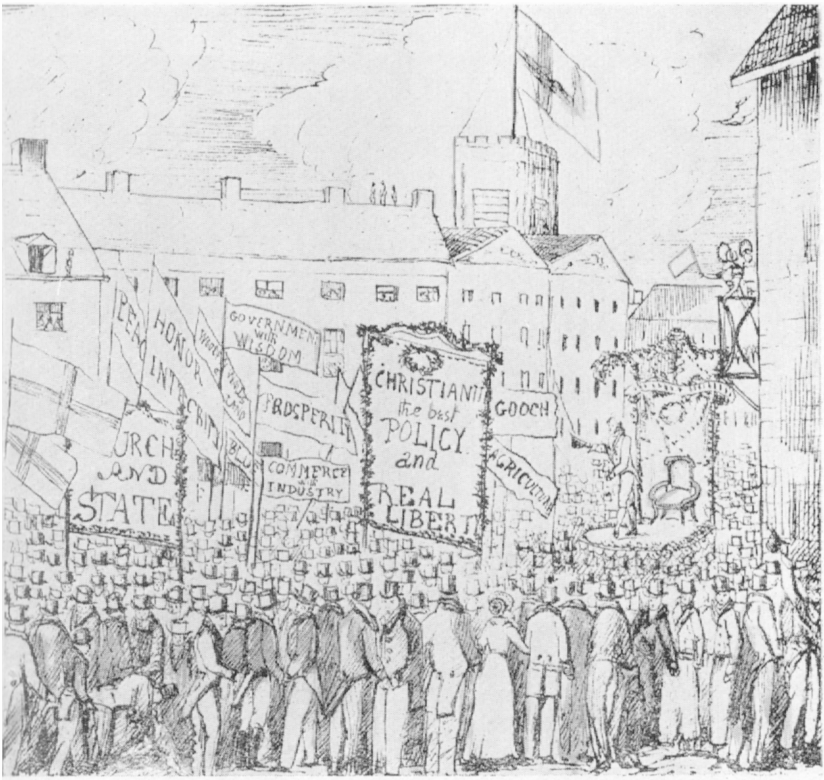
A newe cherche he dyde edefye
Ston brought from Kane out of Normandye
By the Se, and set upon the strande
At Ratlysdene, and carried forth be lande.

But the Gipping was opened up for traffic on a large scale only when the Navigation Act of 1793 enabled it to be canalised as far as Stowmarket, allowing barges to bring coal into the very centre of the county.

The direct routes through the Eastern Counties from London which since Roman times have crossed the Stour at Stratford St. Mary do not run through Ipswich; and the "London" Road which crosses the head of the Orwell at Handford, seems to have been as much the ancient route to Walton as the road to Norwich. There is in fact no such radiation of roads from Ipswich to the surrounding villages as exists at Bury. The waterways were doubtless the more important. So long as the small river ports along the eastern border of Suffolk shipped out country produce in quantity, there was not the need for good communication by land between these and Ipswich.

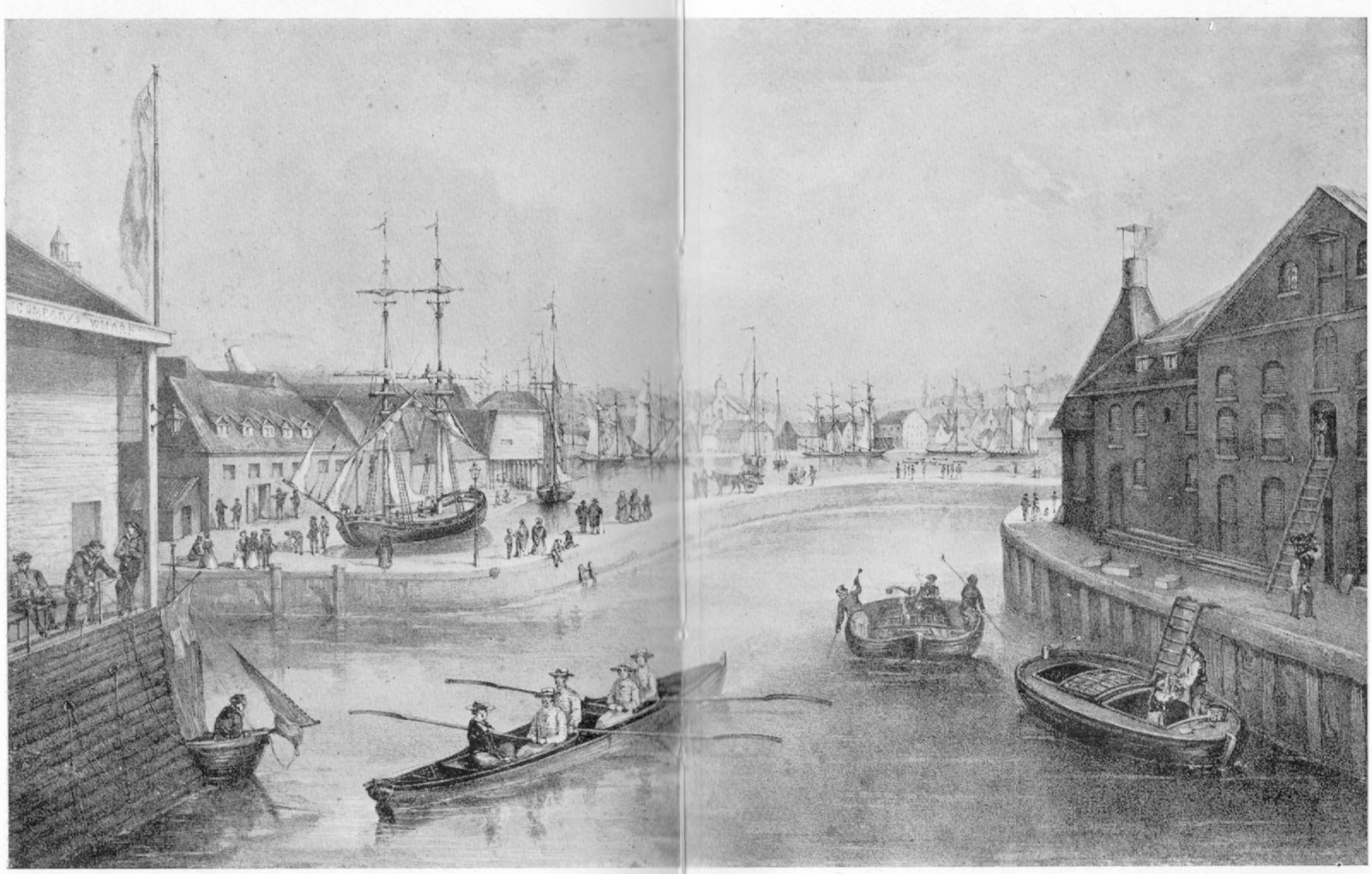
Naval requirements in the reign of Queen Anne brought fresh demands for bringing supplies to the port of Orwell; and it was to facilitate the carriage of cheese, butter, corn and other merchandise from mid-Suffolk to Ipswich that an Act was passed in the reign of Queen Anne to improve the road west from Ipswich through Claydon and Stowmarket.

When this act expired, its terms were extended, and the commissioners were empowered to take toll along the road at the following rates: for every coach or berlin, a shilling; for every chariot, calash, or chaise drawn by six horses or less, varying rates down to the single horse or ass, unladen, at a penny. The road to Yarmouth was converted into a turnpike in 1785, when trustees including the bailiffs of Ipswich, were appointed to maintain it

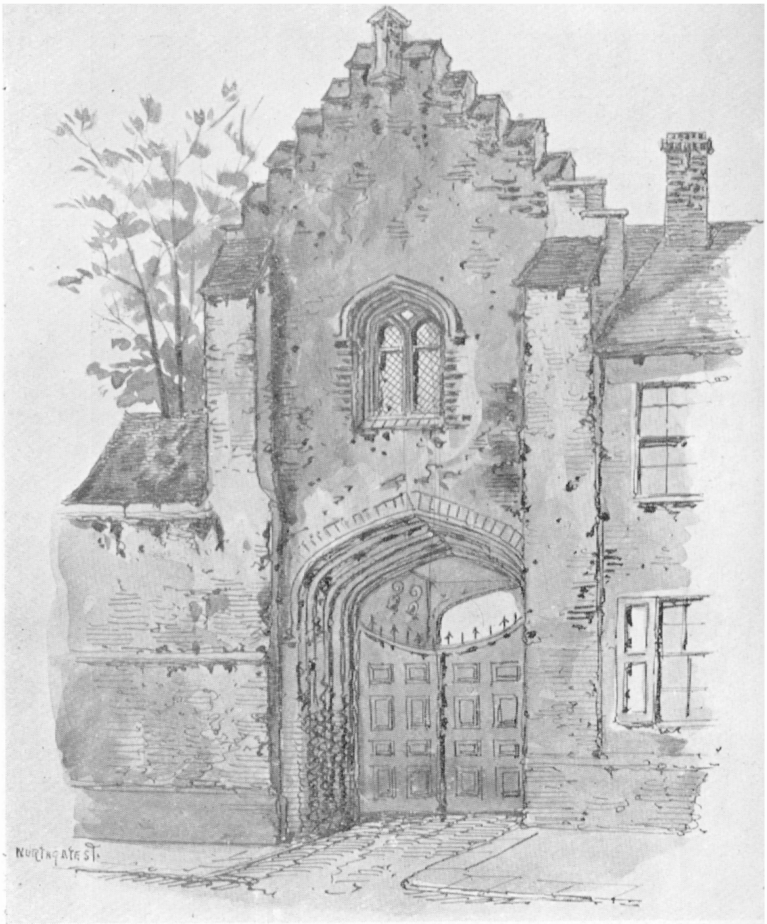


30. CHAIRING THE CANDIDATE.

From a drawing by the Rev. Richard Cobbold, 1827.



31. THE WET DOCK, ABOUT 1842.
From a painting by C. L. Nursey.



32. PYKENHAM'S GATEWAY. *From a sketch by E. Pococke.*

between St. Margaret's Gate in Ipswich and the turnpike road at South Town, Yarmouth.

Until the opening of the railway system at Ipswich in the 1840's, the villages were still linked with the county town by the slow-moving carrier, save for a favoured few, which lay upon the route of "Howard's Omnibus," or could, like Shottisham, be reached regularly by hired chaise and pair.

With the improvement in roads, and advance in transport by rail and (later) by motor along the roads, Ipswich markets gradually gathered to themselves the business of the smaller eastern market towns. Since the evolution of motor omnibus services and their organisation from the centre of the town at the Old Cattle Market, almost all the villages of south-eastern Suffolk have made Ipswich a centre for regular shopping, amusement and business.

No longer is market day the one day upon which Ipswich streets are thronged with country visitors. They come in daily to work, nightly to the cinema and weekly to the football match; and every day sees them buying in the shops of their county town the goods which they cannot get so cheaply in the village store or of which they find a larger variety than in the nearest market town.

Moreover, Ipswich has become a clinic for the sick of East Suffolk. In the first days of inoculation for smallpox, the doctors ceased to inoculate patients from outlying villages because the large numbers crowding into the town threatened an epidemic. The East Suffolk and Ipswich Hospital was opened by subscription in 1836 for about fifty in-patients and has continued to expand ever since. By rail and by road out-patients from the countryside visit it daily.

If Ipswich was ever a social centre, it was in the Tudor period, when knights and gentry occupied the town mansions alongside the wealthy Ipswich merchants. It was in this period that

dramatic performances "on" the Moot Hall or in the bailiffs' houses were financed by the corporation. They paid the players of King Philip and Queen Mary, the Duke of Norfolk and the Duchess of Suffolk, or of the Earl of Leicester to play before them. The Duke's bearward was encouraged to bait his bears upon the Cornhill; French, Italian and Turkish tumblers amused the townspeople, and the local minstrel, William Martin, with his company played the fool in the Moot Hall upon occasion; while more regularly, the town waits in their liveries of blue cloth walked about the streets playing the sackbut, cornet and lute in the hope of adding the benevolences of passers-by to their yearly wage.

Puritan Ipswich, however, looked askance at the drama, and in the fateful year 1637, the bailiffs paid the king's servants *not* to play in the town. When, a century later, the Ipswich Playhouse fell down "to the hurt of many and the fright of more," the magistrates were bidden to take this catastrophe as a rebuke of divine providence; but the brewer who purchased Wingfield Mansion in Tacket Street in 1736, converting it in part into the "Tankard Tavern," devoted the adjoining site to a new Playhouse, which was thereupon constantly used by the Norwich Company of Comedians instead of the Shire Hall, where they had occasionally played.

It was not the townspeople alone who patronised the theatre. Neighbouring gentlefolk such as Lady Harland, of Wherstead, would bespeak some special play and country clients as well as burgesses would be attracted when the announcement assured them that "it will be moonlight." In 1741, when at the Tacket Street Theatre, David Garrick, the great actor, made his first stage appearance, he is said to have attracted great crowds of gentry from all the country around.

The Tacket Street Playhouse (which was re-built in 1803) was in great request during the summer race weeks as well as in the winter season. Ipswich Races were run over a course on the

heath near Nacton Corner. This course was known as the "New Race Ground" in 1751. During the 18th and early 19th centuries, lodgings would be booked not only for the "county" but also for noblemen from greater distances, who came to the Ipswich Races.

The course prospered, especially in the 1780s, when it was patronised by such people as the Duchess of Chandos and her brother-in-law, Lord Henniker, and during the Napoleonic Wars, when the cavalry at Ipswich barracks greatly encouraged the meeting.

By 1840, however, the attendance had fallen off, and in the 1880s the course itself was already being threatened by building activities along the new Tomline Road. From 1883 it was used only for steeple-chasing and in 1902 it was given up to the builders.

Races were not only accompanied by the drama. There was cock-fighting too, and mains were aptly held at the "Cock and Pye" Inn. The crowds at the races were entertained at public assemblies or breakfasts provided at the notable coffee house known as "Bamford's," previously "Dod's," which occupied the corner of Tower Street where once the Chaucers sold their wines. Its triple gables overlooked Tavern Street and its corner post was enriched with groups of symbolic figures and with coarsely carved satyrs. At this old coffee house the gentlefolk and traders assembled nightly to talk and hear the news and drink their coffee; a pleasant habit most "convenient for strangers," as the young French nobleman, François de la Rochefoucauld, found out in 1784.

Attached to the coffee house was the assembly room (later the reading room of the Working Men's College) where balls and concerts took place until the New Assembly Rooms in Northgate Street were opened with a grand subscription ball in January, 1821, when an extraordinary gathering of aristocracy of the

district to the number of one hundred and eighty-eight sat down to supper.

But the new rooms, with the ball room on the first floor above their collonaded front did not flourish. The building was converted first into a school of art and later into the Ipswich Girls' Public Day School, and afterwards served in succession as motor works and a clothing factory. Its dingy and unimposing facade seems to stand as a symbol that Ipswich has served the county these many years rather as a shopping and a business centre than for merely social purposes.

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Chapter VIII

IPSWICH AND THE NATION

THE contribution which Ipswich made to defending the distraught kingdom of East Anglia against the marauding Danes can never be assessed. Certainly the ground upon which the old town stands was fought over time and time again. In almost every part, deep digging reveals skeletons buried in haphazard fashion.

Yet the battered town of Domesday Book had been, and remained, a considerable trading centre with its own mint for striking the silver coins of the tenth to thirteenth centuries. The exact locality where the moneyers plied their trade between the reign of King Edgar (959-975) and that of Henry III. is unknown. Their names were mostly Anglo-Saxon—Leofrig, Siwold, Alfwold, Aldgar and the like—with a sprinkling of Danish origin, such as Swein, and after the Conquest one or two Norman-French, such as Robert and Alisandre. And who shall say whether Wulsie, who was moneyer here under King Edward the Confessor, was in any way the ancestor of the great Cardinal, Thomas Wolsey?

If the Ipswich mint cannot be traced, neither is there precise certainty about the site of the mysterious "castle" of Ipswich. The story of this castle has been confused by errors, but it appears certain that in 1153 King Stephen besieged the castle of Ipswich, and that Hugh Bigod's stronghold here was dismantled with his other castles in 1176, when King Henry II. at length brought this unruly baron to order.

Bigod's ancestor had held the town after the Norman Conquest, and his descendants continued in possession of a quay and

tenements, later accounted parcel of their manor of Walton. The story of Ipswich Castle may therefore be unravelled with that of these holdings; but it remains certain that Ipswich itself did not grow up as a stronghold, but rather as a place of commerce. This castle, and the still more nebulous "tower," which is said to have given its name to the church of St. Mary Tower, were only incidents in the development of the town and not the cause of its growth.

The royal hamlets or Wicks were alienated, the one to the Bishop of Norwich, the other (eventually) to the Earls of Suffolk. Kings, when they visited the town, had to find lodgings as they could. Edward I. seems to have stayed in the Priory of St. Peter and St. Paul, a royal foundation, when he rode in from Nayland just before Christmas of 1296 for the marriage of his daughter, Elizabeth, to the Count of Holland. The festivities for Christmas and for the marriage were held in the "King's Hall," perhaps within the priory, perhaps at the Shire House near at hand. Matilda Makejoie, a dancer, performed in the hall before the young Prince Edward. Fiddlers and minstrels, "Griscote," "Visage" and "Magote," with mummers of the court and of the great nobles there made merry. The poor of Ipswich, to the number of five or seven hundred, enjoyed the royal alms at Christmas. The friars were not forgotten. A chalice, formerly of the Abbot of Glastonbury, was given to the Priory of Holy Trinity.

One wedding brought others. The king himself attended the nuptials of Sir Thomas de Molton. The Princess was married on the 7th January and her trousseau which, with the curtains for the nuptial bed, had occupied 35 working taylors four days and four nights in the making, rumbled away over Cattawade Bridge to London in two carts, escorted by the robe-maker and his men.

The wedding ceremony was, however, marred by misadventures. The girl-bride's elder sister, Margaret Duchess of

Brabant, was discontented with the jewels brought down for her by a London jeweller and sent him and them back again. There was trouble over the golden coronet provided for the bride, which had originally been bought for the Countess of Luxemburg and was repaired for this occasion by Richard of Faringdon, a London goldsmith. The king was somehow angered and threw the thing into the fire, so that two stones were lost. Adam, the king's own goldsmith, who had already brought coffers and panniers filled with jewels for the bride, had perforce to supply a fine ruby and a large emerald to replace the lost stones.

What were the feelings of the mother-less young bride as her husband's retinue started out for Harwich and the continent? Ipswich, indeed, must have seemed a link with the homeland to these young princesses, who were married for reasons of diplomacy to European potentates. When Henry IV. married his ten-year-old daughter, Blanche, to the Duke of Bavaria, she seems to have spent the few weeks before her marriage at Ipswich offering 3s. 4d. to the "precious image" in the chapel of Our Lady just without the walls, when mass was celebrated before her upon the last day of April, and making her oblations in the church of the White Friars during May.

The position of the town gave it great importance when national policy was most influenced by relations with the Low Countries; but it was at Walton, rather than at Ipswich itself, that the Earl of Leicester landed with his Flemish mercenaries in 1173, and it was at the mouth of the Orwell that Queen Isabella, with Roger Mortimer, came ashore unopposed in 1326. The opening years of the Hundred Years' War brought Ipswich into the foreground of the national life, until the capture of Calais gave a different angle to English expeditions. In 1338 King Edward III. was frequently at Ipswich and at Walton, the neighbouring home of his uncle, Thomas of Brotherton, who died in that year.

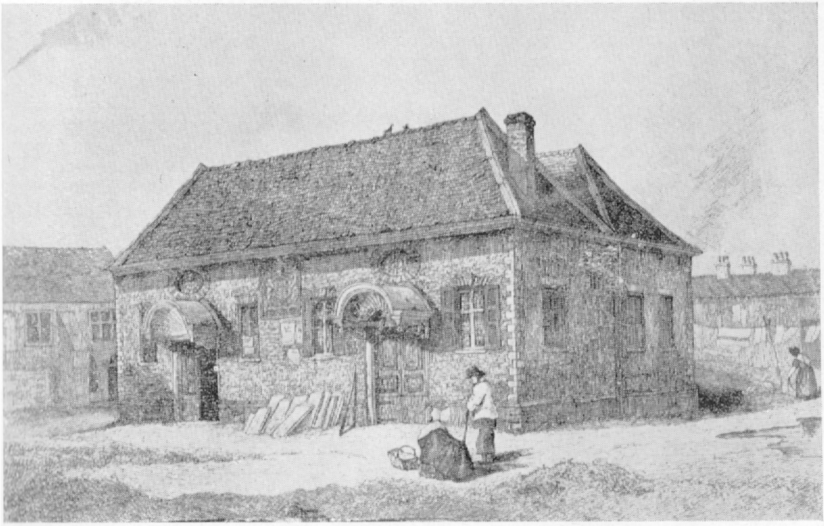
In July the king left the Orwell with an expeditionary force, gathered with difficulty, for the peace-loving merchants of Ipswich disliked the French Wars and the Commissioners of Array had been roughly handled in the town in the previous year, while the security of Ipswich homes seemed threatened by the order that local levies only should be left for the defence of the town. Moreover the burgesses felt sore at the privileges temporarily granted to Harwich to the infringement of their rights, while the hordes of Welsh archers assembling in the town must have appeared another and more immediate threat to their peace.

But it was the expedition of 1340 ending in the English naval victory at Sluys, which filled the Port of Orwell to the full. The preparations occupied all Ipswich and the countryside around. Councils took place at Bury. Administrative business was carried out by clerks of Chancery sometimes at Ipswich, sometimes in the villages of Bramford or Shotley. The king himself stayed with his queen at Walton or at Shotley where the knight, Sir Thomas Visdelou was lord. It was at Shotley that the young Prince Edward had news from his father that the great fleet of two-hundred sail which had left the Orwell upon 22nd of June had overcome the French Fleet, capturing all but two dozen vessels which were in flight.

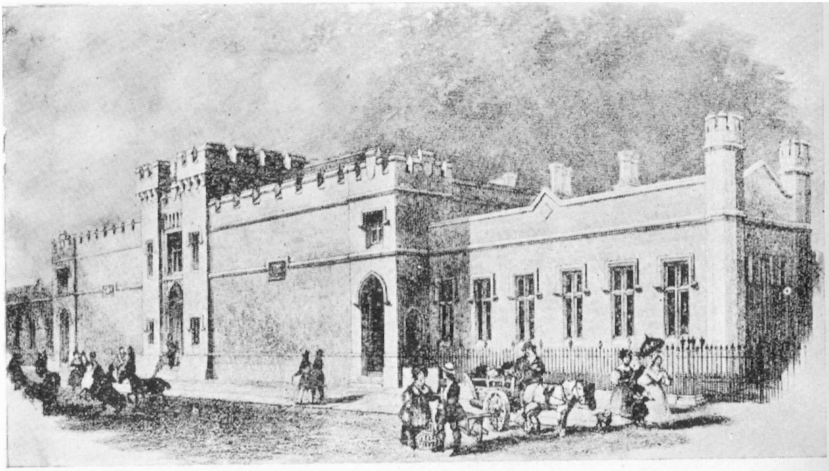
Neither before, nor since these busy years has Ipswich seen so great an assembly of warships in its own waters. The stores came in from all quarters; so did the men, many recruited from gaols and prisons. But the king and his court expected civility, and upon occasion he would be ceremoniously met upon arrival. Thus upon one July day did twenty-eight of the Grey Friars go out to meet him in procession and receive as reward a groat a-piece for the day.

The wars with France inevitably led to heavy taxation. Strict enforcement of the Statutes of Labourers by the Suffolk judge, Sir John Cavendish, increased discontent. This was fanned by

33. THE OLD TOWER WORKHOUSE. *From a sketch by E. Pococke.*



34. THE OLD SHIRE HALL (1699-1841). *W. Hagreen and F. Russel.*



35. EAST SUFFOLK COUNTY COURTS, 1839.
From "Pawsey's Ladies' Fashionable Repository," 1840.

36. MAKING THE EASTERN UNION RAILWAY, 1845.
From an etching by H. Davy.

the frequent success of neighbouring lords in reclaiming their bond-tenants who had sought free and better-paid employment in Ipswich.

Early in the year 1381, a Benedictine arrived from Rome and took hiding at the house of the White Friars, while his supporters, armed with bulls from the Pope and aided by riotous burgesses at Bury, for a time forced his claims to become Abbot. Edmund Bromefield, this pseudo Abbot, was imprisoned; his lay supporters were heavily fined.

But the incident was a foretaste of what was to come. In the June of 1381, Thomas Sampson, a well-to-do yeoman of Harkstead, Richard Tollemache, of the knightly family of Bentley, and John Battisford, parson of Bucklesham, called upon the people of Ipswich and the neighbouring hundreds to join them on Sunday, the 16th in rising against their oppressors. Sampson, on that Sunday, led his band on to Melton to plunder the house of William Fraunceys, who was doubtless some official connected with the gaol or courts of St. Etheldreda at Melton. Fraunceys himself was at Ipswich, and was there seized and murdered by the rebels under Tollemache, John Battisford assisting. The mob proceeded to plunder the houses of men marked out by their office for hatred. They ransacked the homes of two burgesses who had served as members in the Parliament of 1377—the one, John Cobat who had collected the first instalment of the hated poll-tax, the other, John Gerard, a wealthy parishioner of St. Lawrence. They also attacked the archdeacon's house, perhaps on the site of the building erected later by Archdeacon Pykenham, which with its fifteenth-century red-brick gateway, still occupies the west side of Northgate Street. The archdeacon in 1831 was a foreigner, the Cardinal of St. Angelo, nominated to his office by the Pope contrary to the Statute of Provisors, and merely drawing fees from the courts held in Suffolk.

Another cleric to incur the mob's anger was John, parson of

St. Stephen's. He was a man of the judge, Sir John Cavendish, and was fortunate to escape with the robbing of his rectory, whereas his patron lost his life in West Suffolk. Even while the Earl of Suffolk and his colleagues, having suppressed the insurrection, were sitting in judgment on the ringleaders, a mob attacked the earl's house in Hollesley, and burned his court-rolls including those for the manor of Wicks Ufford in Ipswich. But judgments on the leaders were severe, and Thomas Sampson secured his own pardon only in 1383, when as a prisoner in Ipswich Gaol, he turned informer.

The Port of Orwell had seen the beginnings of the Hundred Years' War. It was also the opening scene in one of the dramas with which the English domination in France petered out. William de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, the disgraced leader of the Peace Party, sailed from Ipswich, an exile for five years, on 30th April, 1450. The duke had first gathered together the gentry of Suffolk, declaring to them his innocence of the sale of Normandy, with which he was charged. The countryside was full of suspicions against him. Was he, or was he not, responsible for the sudden death of his political enemy, the "good" Duke Humphrey of Gloucester, at Bury three years before? Was he not the agent for the secret cession of Maine and Anjou to France upon the marriage of the young king, Henry VI., with Margaret of Anjou?

On the day of his departure, he wrote his blessing to his little son, exhorting him to beware of the intriguers around him, and above all to be faithful to his God and loyal to his king. Was this letter written at Ipswich? It does not say. But that same day there sailed down the Orwell two ships and a small pinnace bearing the duke and his retinue towards Flanders. They did not reach the continent. Off Dover the Duke despatched the pinnace for Calais to inquire whether he might land but his messengers were intercepted by rovers from Kent, who

thus locating the duke and greeting him as "traitor," dragged him into a boat and hacked off his head with a rusty sword, throwing his body on to the Kentish sands. The issue between Yorkists and Lancastrians, the White Rose and the Red, broke that day into open war.

We have seen how the peace-loving burgesses of Ipswich tried to shut out from their assemblies the discords which arose during the Wars of the Roses. They could not avoid contests, when the Duke of Norfolk and his Yorkist party rode into the town in great array to control the elections for knights of the shire. Nor did the burgesses entirely prevent disputes between factions, such as the troubles arising from the claims of the Pastons to the inheritance of the Fastolfs, which included the great house in the present Butter Market, now styled the Ancient House, as well as the neighbouring manor at Nacton, or the concerted attack by Tattingstone men upon Norfolk's squire, Gilbert Debenham, as he brought from the Cheesemarket the "showls" which he had purchased for the use of a tenant.

But the town never saw the actual bloodshed which elsewhere arose from the Wars of the Roses, and, tending mainly to support the Yorkists, especially through the influence of Sir John Howard, "Jockey of Norfolk," it gained from Edward IV. and Richard III. the charters of those privileges which it most highly desired.

Tudor sovereigns visited Ipswich upon occasion. Henry VII. in 1489 passed this way upon a journey from Colchester to Bury and Norwich, where there was fear that his retinue might drink the place dry, as they had done at York. Catherine of Aragon and her royal husband, Henry VIII. came separately upon pilgrimage to the chapel of Our Lady of Grace. Catherine in 1517, visited first Brooks Hall, then the home of Sir Anthony Wingfield, and having spent the night at Curson House, was escorted by the corporation as far as Bourne Bridge upon her departure. Henry

VIII. also lodged for the night at Curson House on 8th October, 1522.

Queen Mary, riding up from Framlingham to assume her crown in London, filled the town with a great force of her followers, gentry and gaol-birds, on the last night of July, 1553.

Queen Elizabeth came to the town upon several of her summer progresses. Her first visit in 1561 was an uneasy occasion. Her mind was filled with bitterness against married clergy, and she was disgusted by the dirt of Ipswich streets, and worst of all, troubled with the discovery of the secret marriage between Lady Catherine Grey and the Earl of Hertford. The clergy were snubbed; an act was passed for paving the streets; the unhappy Lady Grey was sent first to the Tower and later to Cockfield Hall, Yoxford, where she died.

Ipswich escaped actual fighting during the Civil Wars of the seventeenth century just as it had in the contests between York and Lancaster. The town's attitude towards the Stuarts was deeply tinged with Puritanism.

The first contested election of members of Parliament for the borough took place in 1640; but the Parliamentary party was very strong. In petitioning against the bishops in the next year, the corporation declared its readiness to serve in defence of the Protestant religion and to support the Commons. Preparations were made in 1642 to fortify the place on behalf of the Parliament.

The borough came out strongly for Oliver Cromwell when he summoned his first Parliament in 1654, instructing its representatives "not to intermeddle in the altering of government as it is now established under one man and the Parliament." Some stout Royalists, however, remained in the town.

There is a tradition in the family of Sparrowe of the Ancient House that Charles II. was there concealed after the battle of Worcester in 1651. The story is based upon the family's possession of contemporary portraits of Charles and of his rescuer,

Jane Lane, who helped him to escape from Boscobel House. Its details are full of difficulties in regard to the known incidents of Charles's escape. Nevertheless the connections of the Sparrowes with Stuart supporters in Jacobite times, such as the Timperleys, of Hintlesham, and their ownership of the adjacent "Wagon" Inn tenanted by a family of Lane, seem to indicate that there may be some basis for the story in some form of assistance rendered to one member or another of the Stuart family.

Few people were attracted to live in Ipswich during the period of its eighteenth century decadence. Yet two brilliant geniuses began their careers in the town. The residents of Ipswich and the country gentry around crowded into the new Playhouse in Tacket Street, during the summer of 1741, and especially during race week, to applaud a young and unknown actor, who was playing such parts as Captain Duretête in "The Inconstant." Encouraged by the enthusiasm of his Ipswich audiences, he returned to London, where under his real name of David Garrick, he took the metropolis by storm through his rendering of "Richard III."

A few years later a young couple arrived in Ipswich, the husband trying his hand at landscape painting, and gaining a sparse livelihood through the painting of portraits and by taking pupils. So began the career of one of our greatest artists, Thomas Gainsborough, who remained in Ipswich until his egotistic "discoverer" and patron, Phillip Thicknesse, governor of Landguard Fort, persuaded him to remove in 1759 from the house in Foundation Street, to the brilliant city of Bath, where patronage would be wider and the portrait painter assured of a living.

Gainsborough, in his sociable manner, made friends in the town of Ipswich, amongst them Samuel Kilderbee, the Town Clerk, and John Joshua Kirby, a coach and house-painter, who had recently published drawings for the history of Suffolk,

subsequently brought out works upon perspective, and eventually became president of the Incorporated Society of Artists. Gainsborough was also member of a Musical Club in Ipswich and was friendly with Creighton, publisher of the *Ipswich Journal*, in whose garden he set up his well-known and amusing figure of "Tom Peartree" painted on wood, to record the longing gaze of a strange fellow who envied the Gainsboroughs' fine Bergamots. The little set of cultured friends was broken by the departure of Kirby for London and of Gainsborough for Bath.

The next hundred years saw Ipswich struggling with apathy, decay and corruption, and maintaining itself chiefly as a market and port for Suffolk farm produce. Little wonder that in time of scarcity its poorest residents looked enviously at the food in its markets and mills. In 1800, when prices were particularly high, they robbed the market stalls of butter and cheese, and in the September of that year they set upon Savage's windmill in Stoke, but finding this too formidable a fortress swarmed into Rainbird's watermill near Stoke Bridge, with cries of "Bread, bread!" Driven out by volunteer constables, the growing mob still kept the approaches with stones and brick-bats, one of which nearly hit the head of the Town Clerk as he read the Riot Act, previous to employing the cavalry. The military soon cleared the rioters from the streets and from the high ground of St. Peter's churchyard, without any bloodshed, and Ipswich was thus spared its Peterloo.

The special constabulary were generally employed in dispersing riotous crowds which were apt to assemble at elections. Forty-seven staves were for example purchased for the "Extra Constabulary" at the borough election in July, 1810. With the extension of the franchise to the middle classes, the Liberals and Radicals became predominant, receiving the support of the voteless industrial classes. Trade union movements developed comparatively slowly. Serious clashes between workers and employers were few, and some amenities were established.

Such was the Working Men's College which was formed in the Old Assembly Rooms in 1862. As the franchise expanded, Socialism expressed itself more independently, and the influence of a strong Co-operative Society, which began to operate in the town in 1867, has steadily increased.

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Chapter IX

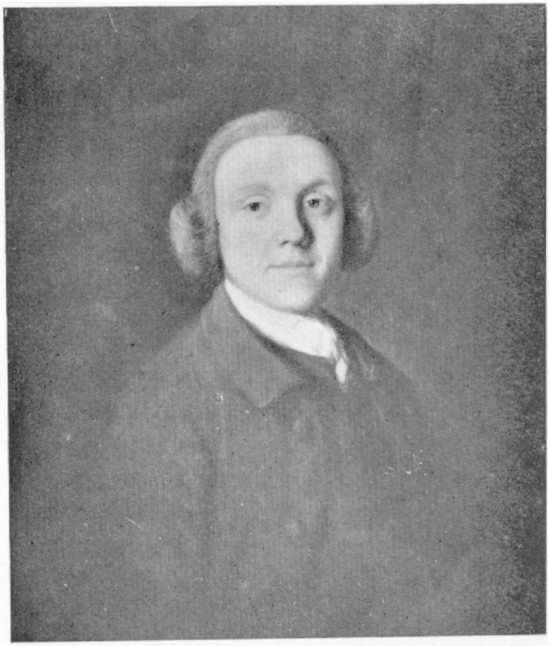
HOME LIFE IN IPSWICH

VISITORS to Ipswich remark again and again upon the lack of continuity in its buildings and particularly upon the scarcity of the gracious Georgian houses which are common in other towns of Suffolk. The obvious survivals tell their tale; what is lacking speaks as forcibly.

The intelligent stranger learns the extent of the medieval town by walking its narrow, congested, streets and lanes. He discovers its Tudor prosperity from the charm of Christchurch Mansion, from shallow-carved beams of some houses and the more richly adorned corner-posts of a few. He can see the town's Puritanism in the severely plain interiors of the fifteenth-century churches, and in the emphasis laid upon the pulpit.

The lack of early Georgian buildings is the price which Ipswich still pays for its depression and its factions in the eighteenth century. The later Georgian did indeed exist in the public buildings erected when the town began to grow in the first half of the nineteenth century; but these were wiped out when they proved inadequate for later needs, or (as in the case of the freakish Rotunda) because they had been conceived without regard to practical convenience.

Inside the old town and all round it, the spread of the twentieth century buildings required for work and for homes by a growing population has wiped out what was unnecessary or inconvenient for a people whose existence depends upon commerce and industry. The monotony of this utilitarianism has, however, been most remarkably alleviated by the preservation of open spaces, the gifts of those whose fortunes have been derived from industry, or the wise purchases made by the community.

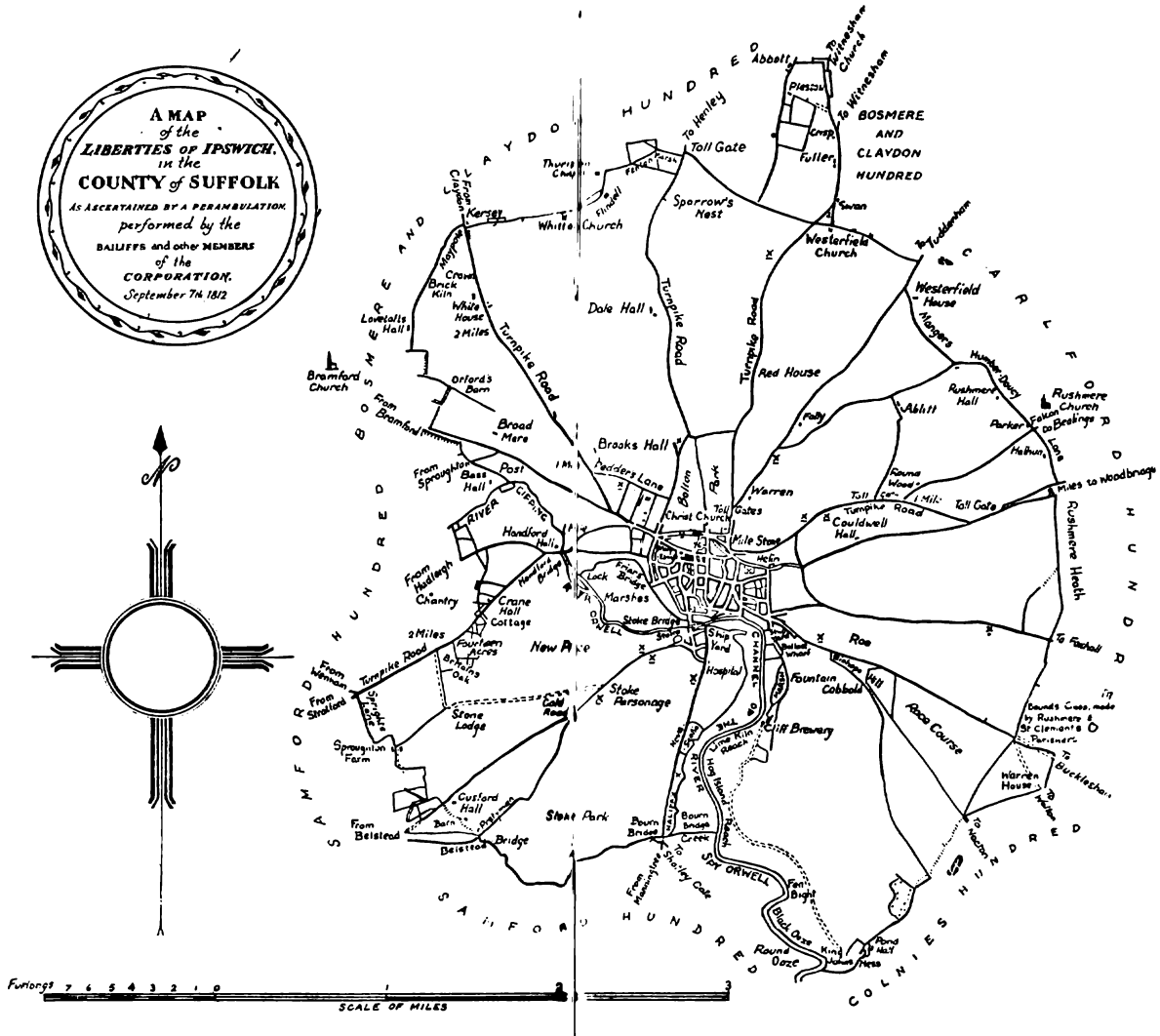


37. PORTRAIT OF SAMUEL KILDERBEE, TOWN CLERK, 1755-1767.

From the original by Thomas Gainsborough in Christchurch Mansion.

38. CHRIST CHURCH, IPSWICH, SEAT OF THE REV. C. W. FONNEREAU.

From "Excursions Through Suffolk," 1818.



39. MAP OF THE LIBERTIES OF IPSWICH, 1812.
Ascertained by perambulation by the bailiffs.

HERE LYETH THE BODY OF IOHN KNAPP MARCHAT
AND PORTMAN OF THIS TOWNE OF IPSWICH WHO
DYED Y SECOND DAY OF MAYE, ANN 1604 AND HAD
ISSVE BY MARTHA HIS WIFE 4 SONES & 8 DAVGHTERS

40. BRASS TO JOHN AND MARTHA KNAPP AND THEIR CHILDREN, 1604.
Etching by Cotman.

Glimpses of life in the Ipswich home at different periods may be gained by studying with informed imagination the actual relics of buildings, furniture and equipment which are preserved in the Corporation's museums in the High Street and at Christchurch Mansion.

Some idea may thus be acquired of the comparatively luxurious standards of those Roman families, members of a victorious, ruling race, who occupied the homestead or "villa" looking down upon the present site of the town from the high ground of Castle Field near Whitton. In this house one of the chief chambers was floored with a mosaic of red, black and white in an effective design made up of scrolls and triangles and simple straight lines.

Similarly, some notion can be gained of the ordinary life of the Anglian settlers, whose more numerous households were occasionally supplied with luxuries such as drinking vessels of blue or amber glass amongst their less decorative utensils, whose women were decked with brooches and with beads of many colours and designs, and usually wore a small knife at the waist, and whose men were armed with a variety of javelins and spears.

An even clearer picture of life in the Tudor and early Stuart homes of flourishing Ipswich is to be gained by wandering through the carefully-furnished, panelled rooms which have been reconstructed within Christchurch Mansion, or by studying the great kitchen there with the utensils in use when each substantial household cut up the joints from large carcases of meat, made its own bread and stored up its own preserves.

The shallow carving and ornamental corner posts, once so plentifully ornamenting the outside of shops and houses, were the chief distinguishing mark of Ipswich streets until the Commissioners for Improving the Borough began their work of modernisation. The town was also noted for the gardens which accompanied both houses of the courtyard-type, such as Curson

House, and those which gave straight on to the street. Thus the house of George Raymond, grocer, lying in Brook Street and in the parishes of St. Stephen and St. Margaret, had in 1617 a garden well-stocked with herbs and with flowers, where his widow was allowed to walk for recreation and to gather what she liked for her use or for pleasure. She was left to occupy the kitchen and parlour of the house with the chambers above them, and one of the sons was to lay up the best Newcastle coal in the coal-place for her comfort and to supply her with one hundred faggots of wood yearly.

Inventories of Ipswich folk's property show the gradual growth of the present-day house with its living rooms, kitchen and bedrooms out of the earlier homes consisting in Tudor times of hall, parlour and kitchen, and chambers over each. The blacksmith, Thomas Bonner, who died in 1583, occupied one of these hall-type houses in St. Margaret's parish, where he was considered of sufficient substance to be chosen one of the two men who viewed newcomers to the parish, recommending the undesirable for expulsion.

His hall was furnished with a short-framed table, a form and stool and two turned chairs, a cupboard and a desk, upon which lay his Bible. Here his cooking was done by means of three brass pots, three skillets and two dripping-pans, and three kettles, two of brass. Here, too, were kept the four candlesticks with which to light the house. Thomas Bonner slept in the parlour, upon a feather bed. The rest of its furniture consisted of two chests. Above stairs in the chambers were three other bedsteads each with its flock bed, but nothing else of worth was kept there save one old board. For all bedding, he had three blankets and seven sheets, and two coverlets, and for napery, a board, i.e., table, cloth. For clothes he was content with two doublets, two pairs of breeches, three shifts and a black coat. In his buttery were two querns, one of them for mustard, a boulting

trough, two pails, a few tubs of various sorts and a washing bowl. His most valued possessions belonged to his occupation, a stythe or anvil, with block and bellows, a beakhorn and cartnail tool, his vice, nine hammers, three pairs of tongs and other tools, with a beam and scales and 58 pounds of lead weights and his stock of 56 pounds of iron.

The widow, Margaret Lowe, who died in that same year, had no parlour. Her chief bedstead stood in her hall, where she lay on a featherbed with two blankets under a coverlet of blue. The hall was also her living room. It had two tables, the one upon trestles with a form, the other square, and for sitting there were also five chairs. Her Bible and service book lay upon a lectern. A cupboard, a glass-case and the fire-irons completed the furnishings of this room. The kitchen had two tables, one square and one small, a "caget" and two small stools. For cooking there was a copper cauldron, with three brass pots, a skillet and a "skomer", a dripping-pan and ladle, a small slice, two great kettles and two small. There were twenty-three trenchers, probably of wood, four pewter platters and three pewter dishes. She drank from a pewter pot, and had one other vessel, a pint pot of pewter.

Out in the "lodge" was her spinning wheel for wool with a salting trough, two washing bowls, two wash-tubs, a brass pan, an earthen pot and a "beating" stool. The chief stuff in her buttery consisted of six earthen pots, great and small, and a beer-stall. Above stairs in the hall chamber a trundle bed was equipped with feather bed, flock bed and transom, and there were two chests and a small press. Here, too, were stored her scales with old weights. A second chamber was used for old lumber, including one old long chest; and the kitchen chamber contained only one old settle.

The widow's chests and press were better stocked with linen than were the blacksmith's. She had six pairs of sheets worth £2, and three pairs of a coarser kind. Of her two board-cloths,

one was of diaper and one of holland, and she had two short tablecloths, and fifteen table napkins. Laid away among her napery were her numerous kerchiefs, three of two yards apiece, nine of one yard, five corner kerchiefs, and five plain "partlets" besides three smocks and an apron. When she went abroad she wore an old russet cloak over her black gown or her gown of frieze; and she had five petticoats, four of them old, a kirtle, two pairs of hose and two of shoes.

The homes of two Ipswich tradesmen, a joiner and a butcher, in the first half of the eighteenth century show the "hall" and "parlour" about to die out. John Tripp, the joiner, in 1721 lived at his shop, which held his "turn" and "turn-tools", a pair of claves, and his work-bench, with its lesser tools and odds and ends of stuff. His chief living-room was still styled the hall, but he did not sleep in it. It was furnished with three tables, one oval, one square, and a lesser table, a cupboard with drawers, a hanging press and a napkin press and six old chairs. For decoration it had six pictures. Above the kitchen, where the chief piece was a dresser, he slept in the "kitchen chamber" upon a feather-bed. This room was furnished with a walnut-tree chest of drawers and a chamber table, six black chairs besides others, and a looking glass, It was adorned with pictures and escutcheons. Higher still, in the garret, was a second, older, bed with some lumber; and outside in the arbour stood a stone table. The house was lighted with three candlesticks, one of iron and two of brass. The "bason-stand" stood in the hall, and here also were kept his vessels of earthenware.

The butcher's home was simpler. Richard Martin in 1737 had no hall, only a parlour, and the equipment for his trade, his chopping block and cliver were in the kitchen. He slept in the parlour which was furnished also with a table, two cupboards, a couch and six chairs of cane, and adorned with a screen, four pictures and some prints. A spinning wheel and

reel were kept in the kitchen, with the hanging pot of iron, a jack, and a pair of bellows for the fire, two chests and a cupboard, five chairs and a joined stool. The vessels for eating and drinking were of earthenware. The family plainly lived in the kitchen as well as the parlour. In the single bedroom over the parlour, still called the "parlour chamber," was a second bed with two cribs and a cradle. It was an extensive room practically a dormitory containing also ten chairs and other old beds and bedsteads a chest and an old cupboard. The cellar was a store for barrels and the inevitable ale-stool, and contained a bridle and saddle. Business was not very good. The book debts good and bad amounted only to thirty shillings. Yet the improvements in the standards of comfort over those of Tudor homes of the same type is quite apparent even in this simple house.

The hall as a place for living and sleeping vanished from the Ipswich houses during the next hundred years, dwindling into the entry or vestibule, while the two main living rooms became the "dining room and the "parlour." In 1827, the "neat, compact and genteel residence in St. Peter's late in occupation of Mr. Nottcutt" was advertised to let as comprising a vestibule hall, a dining room, parlour, store-room, kitchen and backhouse, three bedrooms, a spacious laundry and three attics. Furnishings were becoming more varied and luxurious. When Mr. J. Limmer, the grocer, changed his residence from Brook Street in 1826, and sold his stock of vinegar, mustard, raisins, spices, tapioca and rice, blacklead, blacking and pins, he also put up for sale his almost entirely new furniture which consisted of elegant cellaret sideboards, dining, card, loo and Pembroke tables, a horsehair sofa, mahogany chairs with hair bottoms, Brussels and Kidderminster carpets, and four-post and tent-bedsteads with "morine" hangings.

The professional and clerical residents in the small villas,

which were built in great numbers on the outskirts of the old walled town during the 1870's and 1880's no longer styled either of their reception rooms a "parlour." A typical house was one of the Cairne Villas in Alpe Street, in the Anglesea Road neighbourhood. The widow, who occupied this home in 1880 furnished the "hall" as an entry with umbrella stand, fancy hat pegs and brackets and a stool.

In the dining room was a single table of mahogany with three horse-hair-seated elbow chairs and an easy chair of American cloth. There was also a mahogany whatnot, with dessert-dishes and tea caddy; on the mantelpiece stood five ornaments. The drawing-room had a mahogany chiffonier where stood the decanters; the sherry glasses were kept in a store-room with the blue and white dining service, the papier maché tea-tray, the metal tea-pots and china tea-ware.

In the drawing-room were walnut-framed chairs with damask seats covered with chintz, a couch covered in green rep, four wicker-seated chairs, small tables for chess and for loo, and a desk and work-box of rosewood. The kitchen had two deal tables, one with drawers. It was equipped with two iron kettles and six iron saucepans, bowls, a meat safe and scales. The drawing-room and dining-room had tapestry carpets and hearth-rugs; the kitchen floor was covered with cocoa mats and hearth rugs.

The first floor consisted of three bedrooms no longer called after the rooms below. The "front bedroom" and "back bedroom" and the "third bedroom" each had its iron bedstead with mattress and feather bed, its mahogany chest of drawers and its washstand, and one or two cane-seated or rush-seated chairs. The "front bedroom" also contained a dressing table; the other two had separate framed dressing glasses. Lighting was by means of paraffin lamps, two each for the dining-room and drawing-room; but candles were still in use elsewhere.

The plate included four table candlesticks and a snuffer tray,

besides a plated chamber candlestick to carry upstairs; the kitchen had its brass candlestick. Net curtains hung at the windows. The linen included eight pairs of sheets, dinner napkins, damask table-cloths and d'oyleys and a table cover of blue cloth bordered with yellow.

Rather larger houses of similar type, became the home of solicitors, architects, manufacturers, clerks or merchants in the Willoughby Road in the 1870's, and were furnished in similar style well into the twentieth century.

In 1915, No. 17 Willoughby Road, consisted of an entrance hall devoted to the umbrella stand, card-table, hatstand and barometer; a drawing-room, furnished with easy chairs, occasional chairs, a sofa of rosewood, and a pianoforte; and a dining-room containing a massive mahogany table and mahogany chairs. The two bedrooms each had its bedstead with hair mattress, its mahogany chest of drawers and its marble-topped washstand. The attics were equipped with iron and camp bedsteads, painted washstands and swing dressing-glasses. The reception and bedrooms were all carpeted. The cooking utensils were numerous and varied. The table ware was of glass and china. The nineteenth and twentieth centuries had brought to Ipswich ample and varied supplies of household goods from at home and abroad.

Such developments in the ways of living were common to all the country. To discover the distinguishing features of life in medieval Ipswich, we turn to the customs of the borough, those ancient usages to which the burgesses clung with persistence, at the time when each town took pride in the things distinguishing it from its neighbour.

Many of the Ipswich customs concerned the manner of pleading in the borough courts. Others affected the daily lives of the burgesses' families more closely and directly. The woman who married an Ipswich freeman knew that she would enjoy the

privileges of the freedom after his death and could remain during her widowhood in his head house, the home which she had shared with him in married life. She was better off than the women of many other towns; instead of their third of their husbands' property, she could claim one half.

All the sons of an Ipswich burgess inherited equally, sharing his tenements between them. Thus the Ipswich property of Simon of Debenham descended in 1331 to his seven sons, five of whom rejoiced in the name of John. The borough's customs carefully protected the interests of young orphans. Guardianship of the heir's person went to the next of kin who could not inherit his property; and when the lad came of age a strict account had to be made. He that had thus the "nourishing' of the orphan was then obliged to prove that nothing had been spent save upon his sustenance or in necessary repairs of the tenements. And the guardian could arrange no marriage for the heir without the child's consent and that of his next friend. The Ipswich boy, as we have seen, could come of age at fourteen, provided he was able to measure cloth and reckon money. The boy of fifteen could, and upon occasion did, prove his father's will or sell his inheritance.

These customs as to property, supported as they were in the Ipswich courts, persisted longer than did some of the social usages of equal antiquity. Upon Hockmonday, the fortnight after Easter Monday, the men of the borough used to stretch a chain across the street in each ward, holding to ransom every woman who passed; and next day the women would do the like by the men. By 1422, this game was abandoned on the part of the men, though the women carried it on. Yet Geoffrey Melys, a tavern keeper, blocked the highway in the North Ward upon Hockmonday and was fined a groat, or fourpence, for his offence.

The Ipswich burgess valued his privacy very highly. It was the custom in the borough to guard carefully against the dis-

closure of secrets so that the business of the merchants might not be revealed to their neighbours. Fines for eavesdropping whilst standing below the overhanging upper stories of the old houses, were heavy. John Maughteld, a shoemaker, in 1450 paid 20d. for thus eavesdropping under his neighbours' windows one night in October; and others were impleaded for roaming the streets and yards at night and hiding under walls to listen to secrets. In 1332, Geoffrey Costyn recovered £10 in damages against John Bande the elder, who had built a windmill on a mount twenty-feet high which overlooked his grounds and disturbed his privacy, contrary to the immemorable custom of the borough that no one should erect a building so high as to overlook a neighbour through windows or in any otherwise.

Eavesdropping below the early, unglazed windows was easy. The wealthiest burgesses prized highly the glazed windows which they occasionally introduced into their homes at the beginning of the fourteenth century. About 1307, Alice the widow of the substantial merchant, Philip Harneys, especially mentioned in her will the windows in the considerable house, containing two shops and two solars in Cook's Row (Dial Lane), which she bequeathed to her grandson John Harneys.

Extra light would be needed when in rough weather the open windows were shuttered or stuffed with rushes. The supply of tallow for tapers and candles was strictly controlled as late as the reigns of Henry VIII and Queen Mary. The Ipswich housewife of 1530 could buy only two pounds of candles at a time from the chandler, and when she tried to deal direct for tallow with her butcher she found that he might sell only to the chandler, who in his turn was not permitted to sell unwrought tallow. The price, too, was controlled, being fixed at a penny farthing the pound of candles.

The plentiful supply of water from surrounding springs was a boon to the Ipswich housewife as well as a great protection

against the fires which so often destroyed medieval towns. But it was necessary to pay for the bringing of water to the house in quills and pens. In the time of James I an attempt to use earthen water-pipes which were brought from Holland was unsuccessful. For long after that time water was still carried in the hollowed trunks of elm trees.

Long before the indiscriminate building up of small houses in the old town brought to 19th century Ipswich its waves of low fever, the homes of the old town had suffered from time to time from epidemics, brought in through the port or introduced by the traveller from London as well as induced by the normal, unhygienic, conditions of the town's life, its central "Cold Dung Hill" piled with muck, its open sewers running down the middle of the narrow streets and its town-ditches choked with industrial scourings. The Black Deathof 1349 reached the place shortly after the village of Little Cornard had fallen a victim to the plague in the March of that year. Unfortunately no record remains of the struggles made against this visitation by the Religious of Ipswich or by the wardens of its hospitals, places usually devoted to the care of the lepers or of others suffering from the various forms of skin disease then so prevalent. Ipswich had three or four such hospitals. The one, St. Mary Magdalen, was supported by a yearly fair and in the fourteenth century was united to the hospital of St. James, which went with St. Helen's church. The hospital of St. Leonard's depended upon the alms of travellers and still survived in 1606. Another lazar hospital or almshouse of St. Edmund Pountney lay near the eastern wall of the town.

These were distinct from such homes for the aged or feeble as the Maison Dieu erected by Sir John Brewes in the parish of St. Matthew's. In the home, the physician or surgeon called in to deal with an accident did not always practice as he promised, even though aided by his wife. Richard Pertrich in the reign

of Henry IV sued Edward Wode and his wife for not curing his right thumb with their medicaments and John Tokelove refused to pay Edward Wode because he had not restored his finger to its former condition according to agreement. The disgruntled patient was apt to sue his medical man for breach of contract when the cure was not effected. John Dalt, who was plainly colour-blind, refused payment to John Leche who had rashly promised within eight days to make him see well and clearly and to distinguish one colour from another, and proceeded to sue the physician for breach of contract.

Recurrences of the plague are shown in some of the parish registers and in the orders made in assembly in the hope of checking infection. The dread disease was so familiar that an *Exhortation to the Sick* printed by John Oswen at Ipswich in 1548 and possibly written by the schoolmaster Richard Argentine contained a section beginning:

"A Proved Medycyne for the Plague."

"Take a pound of good harde penaunce and wash it well with the water of your eyes, and let it ly a good whyle at your herte."

When the epidemic was rife in London in 1585, and a case occurred in St. Leonard's Hospital, ships, carriers and goods from London were all stayed; and when the plague reached Lady Lane it was closed to all traffic. Detailed regulations for dealing with the plague again became necessary in 1603. The last great visitation of London, in 1665, was accompanied by a like epidemic in Ipswich. Of sixty-four burials in one week, thirty-four were of plague-victims. After the plague, smallpox. This was so rife in the parish of St. Matthew in 1685, that special contributions for the poor of that parish were made from St. Stephen's, St. Mary Tower and St. Lawrence's.

The Ipswich child in medieval times invariably began life with baptism in one or other of the fine fonts which are striking features in the churches, especially of St. Peter's, St. Clement's,

St. Mary Tower and St. Matthew's. At St. Margaret's, an angel on the font holding the inscription SAL ET SALIVA records the use of salt and spittle in the ancient ceremony.

Until comparatively modern times, the child at home was a small replica of its parents in appearance. Monuments in Ipswich churches, although shop-made and no portraits, perhaps show all the better the normal dress of the sons and daughters of Ipswich merchants, the two sons and three daughters of Thomas Drayle, in St. Mary Tower, 1512, Thomas Pownder's two sons and six daughters, 1525, in St. Mary Quay, the son and daughters of Henry Tooley in that parish 1551, and the twelve children of John and Martha Knapp of St. Peter's, 1604.

Foreigners were astonished at the English habit of putting young children out to live with other families. This was sometimes the case in Ipswich. Alice Game or Gamen, who traded as a mercer, in 1399 undertook to keep John Blast and to pay for his schooling, to provide him with his board, clothing of linen and woollen, shoes and bedding. Eight years later she was suing him for £6 still unpaid. William Say put his daughter to board with William Pecock in 1483, at sixpence a week to cover food and drink for four years and he also failed to pay a penny.

The school bill of the time was not heavy. The little ones, or "petties" of the town whilst learning their alphabet were known as "apesyes." Then they passed through the Song School, where they might learn by rote their Latin antiphoner, although they knew "small grammar," as Chaucer's Prioress would say. Next they went to the grammar master whose rates were strictly controlled, 6d. a quarter for instructing a boy in his primer, 8d. for teaching the psalter and 10d. for grammar, all of course in Latin. The master in the fifteenth century was a priest and bound to celebrate mass for the Gild of Corpus Christi. Like many chantry priests, he was apt to be unruly. Richard

Pennington, who had been grammar school master, found himself in trouble in 1412 for assaulting a butcher, so that the man's life was despaired of, and he was often in the Ipswich courts for one offence or another. No wonder that Cardinal Wolsey stressed the need for gentleness to the boys of his college!

A comparatively small proportion of Ipswich children were taught in the Grammar School which persisted after the fall of Wolsey's college, or in the Elizabethan foundation of Christ's Hospital, which developed into a school for the very poor, but took in small numbers only. The fortunate child of wealthy Tudor parents, at the time when Ipswich was particularly prosperous, might learn the best teachings of the Renaissance from a well-chosen tutor, as Edmund Withypoll, builder of Christchurch Mansion, had done from the wise and gentle Thomas Lupset. And this habit of employing a tutor who was often a chaplain persisted in the household at Christchurch Mansion. For example, Cave Beck, the learned son of a Clerkenwell innkeeper and author of a treatise upon *The Universal Character by which all Nations may understand One Another*, acted as guardian and tutor to the children of the Seventh Viscount Hereford, continuing as chaplain to the ill-fated heir, who fell in a duel at the age of twenty-five in August, 1700. Beck served also as perpetual curate to St. Margaret's and rector of St. Helen's.

The child who lived above or behind his father's shop or warehouse, or was boarded out in a similar home, would learn early to reckon and measure and to recognise the merchant marks which distinguished goods coming in and out. But it was through a long apprenticeship, generally of seven, sometimes of nine or ten, years, that the rank and file of Ipswich youths and their sisters were prepared for life, and in some instances the term of apprenticeship was doubled if the apprentice committed an offence against morals.

This was the undertaking given by an Essex boy, William Burre, when he began to learn the trade of the Ipswich grocer, John Wytton. He was also bound not to divulge his master's secrets, not to betroth himself without his master's consent, not to trade on his own account and not to frequent taverns.

The master, during the first half of the seventeenth century, undertook to provide meat, drink, clothing, washing and wringing, generally according to the use of the City of London. And if the apprentice was ill-fed, the bailiffs of the borough with a justice of the peace occasionally released him from his indentures. Large numbers of lads, some from as far as Northumberland, probably coming down in the coal ships from Newcastle, were thus bound to learn the trade of shipwright or mariner, fisherman or oatmealmaker, shoemaker, gardener, barber, painter, apothecary, draper, goldsmith, haberdasher or merchant. Comparatively rarely a child would be bound apprentice to his father. After full and faithful service for seven years to a freeman of the borough the apprentice could himself take up his freedom, and the system thus remained in good repute so long as the freedom brought with it real privileges in trading.

The number of children who learned to read and write was greatly increased by the establishment of charity schools during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The earliest, founded in 1709 by subscription and endowment, was planned by the High Church Tory Party and the children wore the Tory colours, blue facings upon the grey coats of the boys, who also wore blue stockings, and blue coats for the girls. Other smaller schools were also distinguished by their dress. The Green-Sleeve School, for example, was founded for ten boys who attended the Tacket Street chapel in 1736; and in 1817 was started a Green-Gown School for girls who attended there and were taught to read and to sew.

Several Sunday schools, beginning with a Tacket Street school in 1801, took in larger numbers of boys and girls. The methods of the British and Foreign School Society were adopted in 1809 in the Girl's Free School of Industry which was founded in St. Matthew's Church Lane by Henry Alexander to teach reading, writing, the first rules of arithmetic and plain work of every kind. The Ipswich Education Society in 1811 set up a school for two hundred children upon the same lines in Crown Street; and Dr. Bell's system was adopted by the schools in Curriers' Lane, which were founded by the Suffolk Society for Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established church in 1812. It is from these beginnings that the present comprehensive system of education for every child in Ipswich has since evolved.

What kind of men and women did these homes and businesses of Ipswich produce? In the nature of things, most is known about the families of substance. They produced in the Middle Ages men of action as well as shrewd enterprisers in commerce. Thus Henry Redberd, Thomas le Coteller, John Irp and William Malyn, all bearing names of good repute in Ipswich, were not above adding a little piracy to their peaceful business in 1342. But Edward III. was a monarch of strength and desperately in need of ships. Therefore he pardoned them upon condition that they served two months in his fleet then assembling in the North. Malyn's son, another William, was equally unruly. He shipped wool to foreign parts and sent out victuals to sea without the royal licence, and when called upon to serve with the king's fleet off Brittany he slipped away without leave in his ship "La Malyn" in 1344; but two years later his good services during the French War procured a general pardon for his wife as well as for himself.

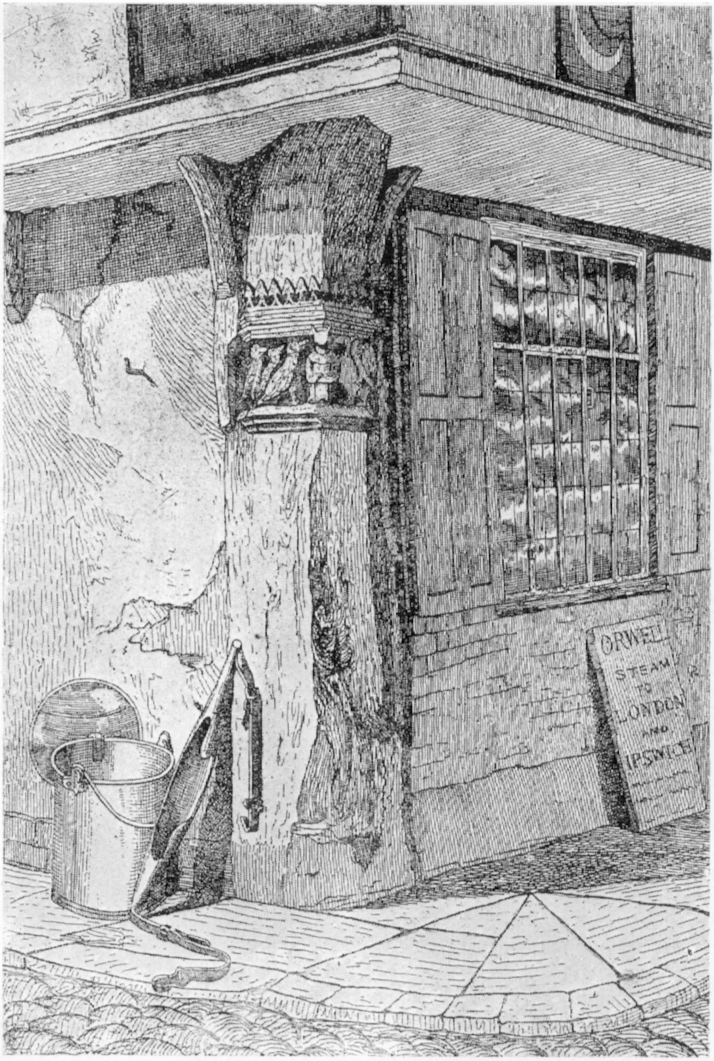
Thomas Wolsey was not the only son of an Ipswich home to take office in court circles, although no other attained to anything

like his spectacular, and dangerous, pre-eminence. Edmund Harman, the second son of Robert Harman, of Ipswich, was admitted in 1530 to the Barbers' Company of London and eventually became master of the company in the critical year of its fortunes when the Company of Barbers joined the Gild of Surgeons to become the Barber-Surgeons. Before then he had been appointed a barber to King Henry VIII., whose hair he trimmed and dressed, living *à bouche de court*, acting as a groom of the Privy Chamber in close daily contact with his royal master and finally serving as a witness to Henry's will.

Harman was a man of upright character, capable and honest, and inclined to Lutheran doctrines. It was probably his position in the king's household only which saved him from martyrdom at Windsor in 1542 for the support which he gave to Anthony Pearson, clerk, who was burned there for heresies against the sacrament.

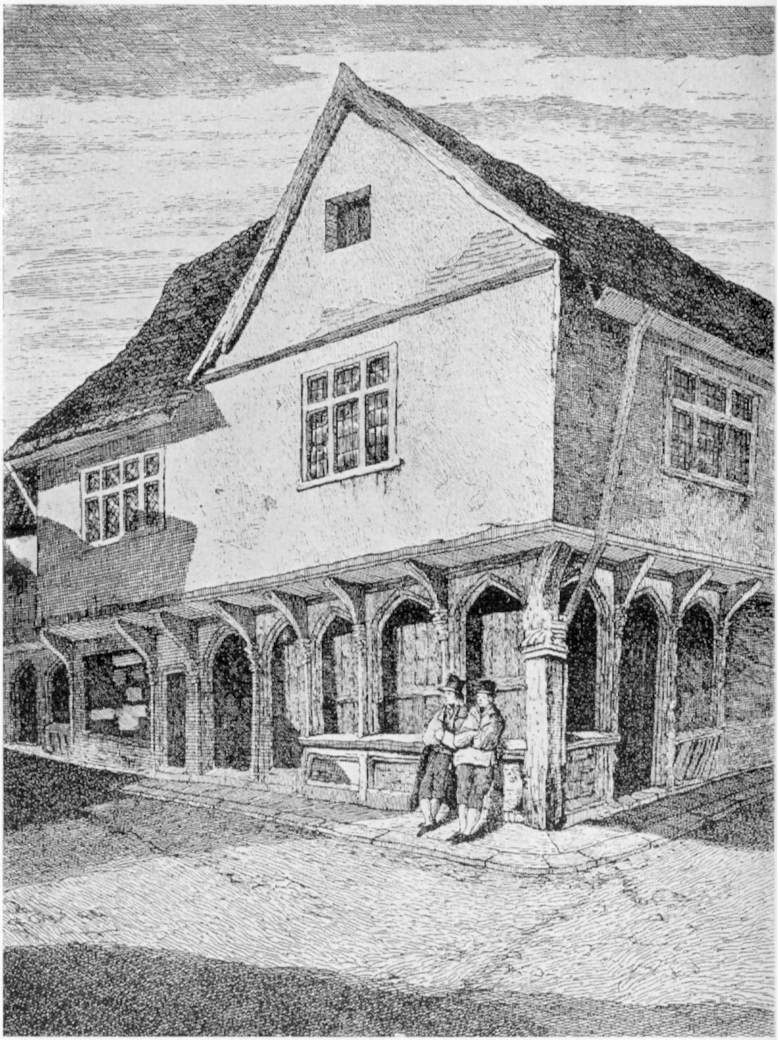
Other Ipswich merchants took up duties of responsibility for which their early training had fitted them. Thus William Cocke, merchant, son of William Cocke also an Ipswich merchant, and lord of Haspeley manor in Newbourne, became a master of Trinity House.

Such men doubtless rose through their use of early opportunities. Did not Wolsey himself first find favour for the speed with which he made his first mission abroad? The speediest ways of reaching foreign ports and the best methods of procuring money or making payments overseas must have been amongst the common knowledge to be picked up in Ipswich homes by the sons, apprentices and journeymen of such merchants as Robert and William Cutler of Ipswich, whose correspondence still remains to show how, in 1586-1587 they exported cloth to Elbing or visited Bordeaux about the importation of woad and madder, paying their debts by means of letters upon London firms with whom they had credits.



41. CORNER POST OF THE "HALF MOON," LOWER BROOK STREET.

F. Russel and W. Hagreen.

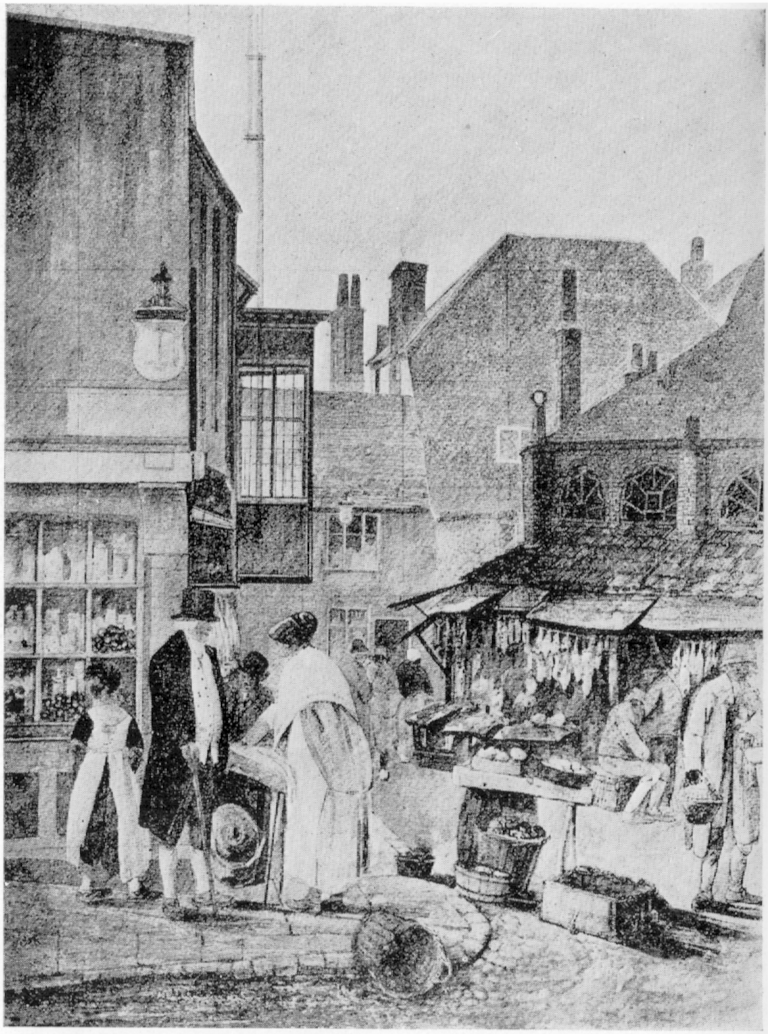


42. HOUSE AND SHOP IN STAR LANE.

F. Russel and W. Hagreen.

43. BUSINESS HOUSE IN THE BUTTER MARKET.

From a sketch by E. Pococke.



44. CORNER OF THE CORNHILL AND TAVERN STREET (1794-1812).
From a drawing by George Frost.

The spirit of independence, always strong among the people of Ipswich, was fanned into flame by the Marian persecutions and kept aglow through the learned, yet homely, lectures of Puritan ministers, only burning itself out in the decadent and corrupt period of the eighteenth century, when men of all sorts gave, or took, a price for votes, which should have been cast upon principle.

Even during this black age of the town's history there were families who devoted themselves not only to personal power, but also to procuring the general good. Such were the Edgars of Red House, who constantly took in earnest their duties as justices of the peace, were always at the head of movements for the extension of education, whether in the Ipswich charity schools in 1709 or in the setting up of the National School system in Suffolk a hundred years later, and were not satisfied with taking commissions in the militia or yeomanry during the Napoleonic Wars, but also served as secretaries or treasurers for the societies formed to relieve the widows and children of the killed and disabled seamen or to add to service-men's bounties.

Other Ipswich families have stood for generation after generation for one principle or another, as the Sparrowes of the Ancient House abided by their traditions of loyalty. A few names of national fame have been added to the list of Ipswich notabilities because of residence or office there. The High Stewardship was given to such men as Lord Nelson or to Earl Kitchener of Khartoum in recognition of their greatness. Lesser men, of well-known name, have held office for various reasons. Christopher Milton, brother to the poet, John Milton, was resident in Ipswich by 1666, when he paid for the supply of water to his house. He was acting as counsel for the borough by 1670. About this time he made a practice of visiting Ipswich during the summer vacation. His appointment as deputy recorder to the corporation was made under the short-lived charter of July, 1684, whereby Charles II sought to control the

borough in the interests of the Roman Church and royal autocracy, tenets with which Christopher, unlike his more famous brother John, was in full sympathy. For Christopher was a royalist at heart, had suffered sequestration for his service to Charles I, and is reputed to have had a chapel, where he heard mass, in Tacket Street, on the site later occupied by the theatre, before he removed his home to the village of Rushmere.

London has always served as a clearing house for people as well as for goods, and the close trading connections between London and Ipswich have clearly made for the settlement of Londoners in Ipswich as well as for Ipswich migrations to the metropolis. In particular, the lists of freemen during the eighteenth century show strong connections between Ipswich and the shipbuilding community of Deptford.

Improvements in transport have naturally widened the area from which residents have come to Ipswich; yet, even now, it is said that a very large proportion of the newcomers spring from Suffolk villages. Many of the urban homes in the town accordingly reflect the manners and thought of rural Suffolk, and thus retain some slight local characteristics, despite rapid moulding during the last century into the national design which has been impressed upon them by centralised administration and by a uniform educational system.

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CHRONOLOGY

THE CHIEF EVENTS IN IPSWICH HISTORY

A.D.

250-400. Roman settlement at Whitton and Roman burial ground within the borough boundary.

500-600. Anglo-Saxon pagans inter their dead near the present Hadleigh Road.

884. *East Anglia becomes Danish.*

885. King Alfred's fleet in action against the Danes in Stourmouth.

920. *East Anglia submits to King Edward.*

959-975. Coins of King Edgar minted at Ipswich.

991. Ipswich ravaged by the Danes.
Danegeld instituted.

1010. Thurkill and his Danes land at Ipswich.
County levies defeated near Ringmere.

1016. Cnut's forces enter the Orwell.
East Anglia governed by Thurkill for King Cnut.

1065. *Ipswich in the time of Edward the Confessor.*
538 burgesses hold 40 acres. Two-thirds belongs to Queen Edith, with a grange; one-third and a grange belong to Earl Gyrth. Wisgar of Clare has the manor of St. Peter's. Robert, father of Sweyn of Essex, has jurisdiction over 41 burgesses, Phin the Dane, over 13.

1069. Sweyn, of Denmark, sails up the Orwell, and is defeated by Roger Bigod, Robert Malet and Ralph Wader, near Ipswich.

1086. *Ipswich from Domesday Book.*
The borough in the King's hands, in charge of Roger Bigod, sheriff; 110 burgesses render custom. 100 poor

burgesses pay 1d. each, the remaining burgages lie waste. Count Alan has Earl Gyrth's third; Richard of Clare has St. Peter's and Phin's burgesses; Sweyn of Essex has his father's 41 burgesses.

1100. Henry I. reorganises the town courts.

1130. Henry I.'s charter in aid of his canons (of St. Peter and St. Paul).

1100-1135. Henry I.'s Keepers of the Sea make ordinances at Ipswich.

1135-1139. King Stephen's confirmatory charter for his canons (of St. Peter and St. Paul).

1153. Siege of Ipswich Castle by King Stephen.

1158-1162. Henry II.'s charter confirming the endowments of the canons of Holy Trinity, and their fair.

1176. Bigod's Castle of Ipswich destroyed.

1178. Building of Ipswich Gaol.

1194. Holy Trinity Priory rebuilt after fire.

1200. King John's charter to the burgesses of Ipswich.

1203. The ditch and wall made about Ipswich.

1204. King John's confirmatory charter for the canons of Holy Trinity.

1216-1272. Cessation of the Ipswich mint.

1251. Inquest as to patronage of St. Clement's Church.

1256. Henry III.'s charter granting return of writs and other privileges.

1263. Purchase of a messuage by Henry III. for the Dominicans.

1271. The Town Clerk absconds with the borough records.

1278-1279. Foundation of the Carmelite Priory.

1283. Inquest as to assault upon the Sheriff in the County Court at Ipswich.

1284-1291. Ipswich in the king's hands.

1290. New Customal drawn up.

1291. Edward I.'s charter of restitution.

1297. Marriage of Edward I.'s daughter, Elizabeth, to the Count of Holland at Ipswich.
1299. Murage granted to the borough for five years.
1317. Confirmatory charter of Edward II., with new privileges.
1323. Search for the rebel, Roger Mortimer, in the port of Ipswich.
1324. Bailiffs and others charged with confederacy.
1325. Reconstitution of the Corpus Christi Procession.
1336. Ipswich sends four merchants to the King's Council at Oxford.
1338. Edward III.'s charter to Harwich, infringing the rights of Ipswich, is revoked (June).
Edward III. at Ipswich and Walton (June-July). He leaves the Orwell (July).
Edward III.'s confirmatory charter to Ipswich (1 July).
1340. Edward III.'s expedition leaves the Orwell.
Inquest upon infringements by men of Harwich of Ipswich rights in the Orwell.
1344. Ipswich in the king's hands because riotous sailors held a mock trial upon his judge of assize.
1352. Licence to strengthen and crenellate the town with a stone wall.
1378. Richard II.'s confirmatory charter, with additions.
1380. Richard II.'s charter, confirming powers not exercised.
1381. Riotous attacks by the peasant rebels upon houses in Ipswich.
1399. New house built by sheriff for Assize and County Courts.
Confirmatory charter of Henry IV.
1402. Princess Blanche at Ipswich before her wedding to the Duke of Bavaria.
1404. Ipswich a port for exporting wools, leather and woolfells.
1446. Henry VI'.s charter, constituting the bailiffs and four capital burgesses Justices of the Peace and granting

exemption from the Admiral of England and Clerk of the Market.

1450. William de la Pole, exiled Duke of Suffolk, leaves Ipswich.

1452. Visit of Henry VI. to the Carmelite Priory.

1463. Edward IV.'s charter granting profits of Sessions of the Peace, and Courts of Admiralty.

1464. Ipswich a port for exporting wool to Calais.

1485. Richard III.'s confirmatory charter with Admiralty rights.

1488. Henry VII.'s confirmatory charter.

1489. Visit of Henry VII.

1509. Licence for Edmund Daundy's chantry in St. Lawrence.

1513. Grant of Admiralty Jurisdiction as far as Polleshead.

1517. Catherine of Aragon visits Our Lady of Ipswich on pilgrimage.

1519. Henry VIII.'s confirmatory charter, with additions.

1520. Admission by the Great Admiral that Ipswich has Admiralty rights to Polleshead.

1522. Henry VIII.'s visit to Lord Curson.

1525. Indulgence for pilgrims to Our Lady of Grace to pray for Wolsey.

c. 1525. Bilney's sermons in St. George's, Ipswich, against images and pilgrimages.

1528. Foundation stone of Cardinal College, Ipswich, laid, 15 June.

Foundation charter of Cardinal College, Ipswich, 3, July.

Wolsey's confirmation of the site of St. Peter's Priory for his Ipswich college, 30 July.

Opening ceremonies of the Ipswich College, 5-6 Sept.

1529. The corporation grants its Grammar School lands to Wolsey's College, 10 January.

Much of the college above ground, 24 July.

Indictment of Wolsey under the Statute of *Praemunire*.

1530. Commissioners find the endowments of Wolsey's College,

Ipswich, forfeit under the Statute of *Praemunire*.

1532. Thomas Alvard ships the materials of Wolsey's Ipswich college to the king's manor of Westminster.
The advowson of St. Matthew's and of the Chapel of Our Lady Ipswich granted to the dean and chapter of Lincoln.

1534. Reginald Oliver publishes in Ipswich the *Historia Evangelica* of Juvencus.

1535. The image of Our Lady removed from Ipswich by night.

1536. Thomas Manning, Prior of Butley, appointed Bishop Suffragan of Ipswich.

1537. Suppression of Holy Trinity Priory.

1538. Suppression of the Ipswich friaries.

1547. Edward VI.'s confirmatory charter to the borough.

1547-1548. First books printed in Ipswich by Scoloker.

1550. Will of Henry Tooley, making the corporation his trustees for almshouses and other charities (proved 1552).

1553. Queen Mary passes through Ipswich (31 July).

1554. Two priests serve eleven churches in Ipswich.

1560. Queen Elizabeth's confirmatory charter to the borough.

1561. Visit of Queen Elizabeth.

1569. Purchase of the site of the Dominican Priory by the corporation.

1571. Act for paving the town of Ipswich.

1572. Charter for Christ's Hospital.
Johnson and Goodwyn propose *Ipswich out of England or Antwerp in England.*

1579. Queen Elizabeth spends four days at Ipswich.

1590. Ordinances for a new company of clothworkers, Ipswich.

1599. Bequests of William Smart to the corporation, and to Drapers' Hall and Taylors' Hall, Ipswich.

1603. Exchequer order controlling the sale of meat in Ipswich by "foreign" butchers.

1611. Ipswich ventures £100 in the Virginia Voyage.

1619. Incorporation of clothworkers and taylors of Ipswich.
1620. Planters for Virginia recruited in Ipswich.
1631-1633. Quo Warranto proceedings against the borough.
1634. Commissary Dade deplores emigrations from Ipswich.
1634-5. Charles I.'s confirmatory charter.
Trial of Samuel Ward by the Court of High Commission.
1636. Visitation by Bishop Wren.
Prynne convicted for writing *Newes from Ipswich.*
1640. Mutinous soldiers burn the communion table rails in St. Lawrence.
1641. Petition of Ipswich to the Commons against Bishops.
Building of the House of Correction near the (County) Gaol.
1642. Plans to fortify the town.
1654. Great fire at Ipswich.
1665. Charles II.'s first charter of confirmation.
1667. Dutch raid upon Landguard Fort.
1668. Visit of Charles II.
1684. Charles II.'s second charter of reconstitution.
1685. Judge Jeffreys holds assizes at Ipswich.
1688. James II.'s charter of reconstitution (15 Sept.)
Publication of James II'.s proclamation restoring charters and liberties of boroughs (Oct.)
1689. *Population*, 8,308.
1698. Erection of Shire Hall behind Christ's Hospital.
1707. Puplett and others v. the Corporation, concerning the building of the Shire Hall.
1711. Sir James Thornhill's description of Ipswich as a town without people, having a river without water, and streets without names.
1712. Act for repair of road from Ipswich to Claydon, etc.
1720. Establishment of the *Ipswich Journal.*
1732. Purchase of Christchurch Mansion and Park by Claude Fonnereau.

1799. Act amending act for repair of road to Claydon.
1740. Assizes at Ipswich because of smallpox at Bury.
Building of the frigate "Hampshire" at John's Ness.
1741. David Garrick makes his stage *debut* at Ipswich.
1759. Thomas Gainsborough leaves Ipswich for Bath.
1779. Building of the frigate "Champion" at John's Ness.
1785. Act for repair of road from Ipswich to South Town (Yarmouth).
1786. Foundation stone laid for County Gaol in St. Helen's.
1789. Robert Ransome establishes a foundry in St. Margaret's Ditches.
1792. Act for paving, lighting, cleansing and improving the town of Ipswich.
1793. Act for navigation of the Gipping.
1794. Shambles on Cornhill replaced by the Rotunda.
Raising of the Ipswich Regiment.
1795. Cavalry barracks built in St. Matthew's parish.
1797. Act amending the paving act of 1792.
1798. Purchase of Roundwood by Sir Horatio Nelson (4 Jan.)
Ball in honour of Nelson's victory of the Nile (16 Oct.)
1800. Nelson chosen High Steward (July).
Bread rioters attack Rainbird's Mill (Sept.)
Nelson passes through Ipswich with the Hamiltons (Nov.)
1801. *Population*, 11,277.
1803. Temporary barracks near Stoke Bridge and Cauldwell Hall (Woodbridge Road).
1805. Act for improving the port of Ipswich.
1809. Building of new Provision and Cattle Market.
1811. *Population*, 13,670.
1812. Removal of Tudor Market Cross and Georgian Rotunda.
Building of new Corn Exchange.
Borough Fund for poor relief.
1813. Competition for plan for new Town Hall.
Sale of Stoke barracks.

1815. Act for further amending the paving act.
Sale of Woodbridge Road barracks.
First steam vessel on the Orwell.

1815-1818. Widening of Tavern Street.

1817. Launching of the East Indiaman "Orwell" from Halifax Shipyard.
Ipswich supplied with gas from the Old Foundry.

1818. Foundation stone laid for new Town Hall.
Stoke Bridge rebuilt in cast iron.

1819. First meeting, Suffolk Agricultural Society, at the "White Horse."

1821. *Population*, 17,475.
Great Colman Street laid out on site of Harbottle House.
Act for lighting Ipswich with gas.
Sir Robert Harland chosen High Steward in contest with the Duke of Wellington.

1829. Petition for new charter.

1831. *Population*, 20,201.
First steam-engine installed, Old Foundry.

1835. Municipal Reform Commissioner describes the borough as "an ill-regulated republic."

1836. Ipswich Corporation reformed as mayor, aldermen and councillors, with trustees for charities.
Opening of East Suffolk and Ipswich Hospital.
Rabble pull down parish workhouses of St. Margaret's and St. Clement's.

1837. Ipswich Dock Act. Act amending Paving Acts.
Formation of Ipswich (Poor Law) Union.
Building of Orwell Works.

1838. Regular steam-boat service from Ipswich begins.

1839. Construction of Wet Dock begins.
Summer Assizes at new Courts in St. Helen's.

1841. *Population*, 25,384.
Completion of new Town Hall.

1842. Completion of Wet Dock.
1844. Act for Eastern Union Company's line from Colchester.
New Custom House begun.
1846. Opening, Ipswich to Colchester line.
Opening, Ipswich and Bury line.
1847. Amalgamation, Eastern Union and Ipswich and Bury Railway.
Opening, Ipswich Museum.
1849. Opening, Ipswich and Norwich line.
Building of Princes Street bridge.
1850. Rebuilding of Corn Exchange.
1851. *Population*, 32,914.
Prince Consort lays foundation stone of new Grammar School.
1854. Bill, Ipswich Corporation Waterworks.
1855. Act, Ipswich Waterworks Company.
Last fair on Cornhill.
Consecration of Ipswich Cemetery.
1856. Corporation Cattle Market established on Portman Marshes.
1860. Opening of new passenger station.
1861. *Population*, 37,950.
1862. Formation of Ipswich Working Men's College.
1866. Opening of goods station.
1867. Formation of Ipswich Co-operative Society.
1868. Completion of new Town Hall; building of Public Hall.
Last borough hustings on Cornhill.
1870. Spring Assizes (replacing Summer Assizes) at Ipswich.
1871. *Population*, 42,947.
1877. Opening of Felixstowe railway.
1880. First tramways, horse-drawn.
New Corn Exchange built.
1881. New Post Office built on site of old Corn Exchange.
Population, 50,546.

1881. Museum, School of Art and Public Library built.
1883. Ipswich Flat Races cease.
1886. Opening of Ipswich Labour Bureau.
1891. *Population*, 57,360.
1892. Corporation purchases waterworks.
1893. Canham's buses begin running.
1894. Corporation acquires Christchurch Mansion and Park.
1898. Penny omnibuses started.
1901. *Population*, 66,630.
1903. Opening of corporation's electric supply and tramways station, Constantine Road.
1906. Opening of County Hall buildings.
1909. Lord Kitchener, High Steward.
1910. Opening of Labour Exchange, Princes Street.
Opening of Tavern Street Picture House.
1911. *Population*, 73,932.
1914. Creation of See of St. Edmundsbury and Ipswich.
1915. First air raid on Ipswich (Brooks Hall Road, 30 April).
First aeroplane made in Ipswich (3 May), brings down a Zeppelin (16-17 June).
1918. Corporation plan for erecting 1,400 houses in Hadleigh and Nacton Roads.
1921. *Population*, 79,371.
1925. Ipswich Corporation Act.
1930. Corporation Town Planning Scheme.
1931. *Population*, 87,502.
1935. Declaration of slum clearance areas.
1936. Ipswich Football Club formed; elected Football League, 1938.
1938. Opening of municipal airport.
1948. Transfer of Constantine Road and (incomplete) Cliff Quay electric supply stations to the nation.
Population, 101,360.

INDEX

Abbeville, 31.
—— Ingram of, 31.
Abbott, Lemuel, 48.
Actes and Monumentes, by Foxe, 88, 90.
Acts of Parliament:
Eastern Union Railway, 148.
Gipping Navigation, 43, 104, 146.
Ipswich Corporation, 67, 149.
Ipswich Dock, 147.
Ipswich Waterworks Co., 148.
Lighting Ipswich with Gas, 147.
Paving and Improving Ipswich 47, 66, 89, 92, 96, 144, 146.
Road to Claydon, 145, 146.
Road to South Town, 146.
Adams, Ferdinando, 13.
Admiralty, Jurisdiction, 56, 57, 91, 142, 143.
Aerial View of Docks, pl. 10.
Aeroplane, manufacture of, 149.
Africa, 35.
Agricultural implements, 42.
Airport, 149.
Air Raid, 149.
Akenham, 99.
Alan, Count, 141.
Albert, Prince Consort, 148.
Aldermen Gild, 55, 61.
Aldermen, Municipal, 65, 147.
Aldgar, 109.
Alexander, family, 43, 67, 95.
——, Hen., 135.
——, Wm., 95.
Alfred, King, 24, 140.
Alfrey, 85.
Alfwold, moneyer, 109.
Aliens in Ipswich, 31, 32, 37.
Alisandre, moneyer, 109.
Alizoun, Maude, 29.
Almhouses, Smart's, 12, 70, 71, pl. 25.
Almhouses, Tooley's 12, 69, 71, pl. 25.
Alpe Street, 126.
Aluric, father of Wisgar of Clare, 25.
Alvard, Thos., 83, 144.
America, figure symbolising, 35.
——, *see* New England, Virginia.
Amusements, 105, 106.
Ancient House (Sparrowe House) 7, 34, 35, 39, 115, 116, 137, pl. 7.
Ancient or Sparrowe House, Ipswich, 40.
Andrews, Wm., 90.
Angles, 24, 121, 139, 140.
'Anglesey' paper mills, 42.
Anglo-Catholic Revival, 97.
Anglo-Saxon Cemetery, 139.
Anjou, 114.
Anjou, Mgt. of, 114.
Annalls of Ipswich, by Nathl. Bacon, 19, 92.
Antwerp, 36, 144.
Apesyes, 132.
Apprenticeship, 37, 133-134.
Archdeacon, 13, 14, 15, 91, 113.
Archdeacon, house of, 113.
Archers, Welsh, 112.
Argentine, Ric., 87, 131.
Arms, Royal, 93.
——, State, 93.
——, Wingfields', 33.
——, Wolsey's, 13, pl. 26.
Artists, *see* Gainsborough, Thos., Kirby, Jn. Joshua.
Assemblies, Great, 53-55, 62.
Assembly Rooms, new, 107.
——, old, 49, 101, 107, 119.
Assize of bread and ale, 56.
Assize Judges, tried by rioters, 55, 56.
Assizes, 15, 71, 101-103, 142, 145-148.

Astrolabe, 8.
Atlas, Saxton's, 34.
Austin Canons, 75, 85.
and see Priories, Holy Trinity, St. Peter & St. Paul.
Austin St., 51.
Anglesea Rd., 51.

Bacon, C. E., 96.
Bacon, Nathl., 19, 61, 92.
Baddely, Jn. of, Friar, 79.
Bailiffs, 16, 27, 29, 53-63, 66, 68, 82, 92, 93, 100, 104, *and see* Belines, Wm. de; Drayle, Thos.; John, son of Norman Knapp, Jn.; Stace, Geoff.
Bakers, Bury, 102.
Baldwin, Abbot of St. Edmund's, 103.
Baldwyn, Joan, 74.
——, Jn., 74.
Bale, Jn., 87, 98.
Balls, 49, 107-108.
Bamford's Coffee-house, 107.
Bande, Jn., 129.
Bank, Alexander's (Yellow) 94.
Bank Street, 94, 95.
Bankers, 43.
Bantoft, Chas., 97.
Baptism, 131-132.
Baptists, 95.
Barbary, 33.
Barber's Co., 136.
Barham, 95.
Barking, 13.
Barnardiston, Sir Saml., M.P., 15, 102.
Barnes, Fredk., 97.
Barracks, 49, 51, 96, 107, 146, 147.
Bartholomew Day, 1662, 94.
Bath, 117.
Batley, Wm., Town Clerk, 20.
Battisford, Jn., 113.
Bavaria, Duke of, 142.
Beadles, 54.
Bears, performing, 106.
Beccles, 67.
Beccles, Railway to, 44.
Beck, Cave, 133.
Belines, Wm. de., bailiff, 54.
Bellamy & Hardy, 10.
Bell Lane, 51.
Bell-ringing, 93.
Belstead, 95.
Belstead Road, 48.
Benacre, 14.
Bennett, H. S., *Chaucer and the Fifteenth Century* by, 21.
Bentley, 113.
Berkele, Joan, 79.
Bethesda, 95.
Betts and Bury, 9.
Betts's Stables, 9, pl. 13.
Beverley, Joan de, 21, 30, 31.
——, Rbt. de, 21, 30, 31.
Beverleys in Bramford, 30.
Bible, 122, 123.
Bibliographies, 19, 20, 28, 40, 52, 72, 86, 98, 108, 119, 139.
Bigod, Hugh, 109, 141.
——, Roger, Sheriff, 26, 53, 140.
——, Roger, Earl Marshal, 58, 78.
Bigod's Quay, 46.
'Big Tom,' 13.
Bilney, Thos., 85, 143.
Bishop's Hill, 28.
Bishops, 116.
——, of Norwich, 28, 33, 89, 91, 110.
——, of St. Edmundsbury & Ipswich, 97, 149.
——, Suffragan, of Ipswich, 144.
Black Death, 130.
Black Horse Lane, 6.
Blacksmith, 122.
Blake, Jn. le., 60.
Blanche, Princess, Duchess of Bavaria, 111, 142.
Blancheville, Rph. de, 75.
——, Rog. de, 75.
Blast, Jn., 132.
Blome, Roger, 31.
Boar, figure of, 11.
Board of Health, 67.
Bodleighe, 89.

Bolton, 95.
——, Little, 93.
——, Old, 11, pl. 20.
Bond-tenants, 113.
Bonner, Thos., 122.
Book of Common Prayer, 94.
——, *of Martyrs*, 88, 90.
——, *of Sports*, 91.
Bookbinding, 87.
Books, of Grey Friars, 79.
——, of Thos. of Eleigh, 79.
——, pr. and pub. in Ipswich, 87.
Bordeaux, 31, 136.
Borough, government of, 25, 26, 38, 53-69.
Bottold, Jn., 74.
Boure, John dil., 29.
Bourne Bridge, 115.
Bramford, 21, 30, 112.
Brasses, memorial, 39, 52, 132, pl. 40.
Bread, fixed price of, 59-60.
Brewing, 42, 45, 61.
Brewes, Sir Jn., 130.
——, Thos., 99.
Brick buildings, 6, 10, 12.
Bridewell, 12, pl. 25.
Bridges, *see* Bourne, Friars', Princes Street, Stoke.
British Electricity Authority, 67.
British & Foreign School Soc., 135.
British Home Stores, 30.
British Museum, 20.
Brittany, 31.
Bromefield, Edmd., 113.
Bronze Age, 24.
Brook, —, 15.
Brook Street, 9, 15, 24, 30, 125.
——, Lower, 17, pl. 41.
Brooks, hamlet, 29, 58.
Brooks Hall, 48, 115.
Brooks Hall Rd., 149.
Brown, Frank, pl. 44.
Browne, Jn., 102.
Bruff, Peter, 16, 44.
Buckle, D., pl. 35.
Buckleche, Jn., 73.
Bucklesham, 113.
Burgages, 26, 141.
Burgesses, 25, 26, 53-54, 76, 100, 115.
Burgesses, Chief, 58, 142.
Burre, Wm., 134.
Bury St. Edmund's, 7, 45, 67, 70, 102, 103, 104, 112, 113, 114, 146, 148.
Business Quarter, 23, 48, 105, 108.
Butchers, 15, 61, 63, 80, 93, 124, 133, 144.
Butchers, Bury, 102.
Butter, 41.
Butter Market, 7, 34, 47, 78, 115, pl. 43.
Byrtnoth the Ealdorman, 24, 28.

Cairne Villas, 126.
Calais, 31, 32, 111, 114, 143.
Caldwell, Jn., 6.
Calvinistic doctrines, 86, 87.
Cambridge, 78, 102.
——, University, 89.
——, King's College, 81.
——, Magdalene College, 89.
Candles, 60, 126, 129.
Canning, Ric., 72.
Canvas, 33.
Carlford Hundred, 101.
Carlyon Hughes, B., 72, 119.
Carr Street, 43, 44, 67.
Carvings, 10-12, 73, 121.
Castle, Ipswich, 109-110, 141.
Castle Field, 121.
Castle Hill, 24.
Catalogue of British Writers, by Jn. Bale, 88.
Chantries, 80, 85, 132, 133, 143.
Catherine of Aragon, 81, 115, 143.
Catt, Benj., 10.
Cattawade Bridge, 110.
Cattle Food, 45.
Cauldwell, 28.
——, Brook, 66.
——, Hall, 146.
——, St. John Bap., 97.
Cavendish, Sir Jn., 112-114.
——, Thos., 35, 46.
Cecil, Wm., Lord Burleigh, 36.
Cecil Rd., 51.

Cemetery, 67, 148.
Ceres, figure of, 47.
Cessons, Gerard de, 75.
——, Nichola de, 75.
Chairing the Candidate, pl. 30.
Chandlers, 61, 129.
Chapels, All S.S., 73.
——, in garden, Curson House, 33.
——, Milton's, in Tacket Street, 138.
——, St. Edmd. Pountney, 73.
——, St. George, 85, 91, 143.
Chapel of Our Lady, *see* Lady Chapel.
Chapels, Medieval, 28, 80, 85, 132, 133.
——, Nonconformist, *see* Nonconformity.
Chaplains, (medieval), 80, 85, 132, 133.
——, (modern), 12.
see also Lecturers.
Chandos, Duchess of, 107.
Charities, 6, 144, 147.
Charles I., 92, 93, 116.
Charles II., 35, 62, 137, 145.
Charters, 62, 64, 68, 72, 141, 147; (1200), 26, 53-55; (1256), 56; (1291), 55, 141; (1317), 56, 142; (1338), 142; (1378), 142; (1380), 56, 142; (1399), 142; (1446), 56, 142; (1463), 57, 115, 143; (1485), 57, 115, 143; (1519), 143; (1547), 144; (1560), 144; (1635), 145; (1665), 63, 145; (1684), 62, 137, 145; (1688), 62, 145.
——, *Principal granted to Corporation*, 72.
——, Resumptions of, 55, 56, 141, 142.
——, Subscription for, 57.
Chaucer, Geoffrey, 21, 30, 31.
——, John, 21, 30, 31.
——, Mary, 30.
——, Ric., 30.
——, Rbt., 30, 31.
——, family, 107.
see also Malyn.
Chaucer and the Fifteenth century, 21.
Cheese, 31.
Children, 30, 128, 131-135.
Christchurch Mansion, 8, 9, 11, 12, 16, 18, 34, 35, 39, 100, 121, 133, 145, 149, pl. 38.
Christchurch or Withepole House, 40.
Christchurch Priory, *see* Priories, Holy Trin.
Christchurch, Oxford, *see* Oxford.
Christmas Festivities, 110.
Christ's Hospital, 12, 70, 144, 145, pl. 25.
Chronology, 140-149.
Church Lane, St. Matthew's, 135.
Churches, Parish, 14, 26-28, 73, 74, 88, 89, 93, 96, 97, 144.
——, All Saints (modern), 97.
——, Holy Trinity (medieval), 76.
——, —— —— (modern), 97.
——, St. Augustine of Hippo, 97.
——, St. Bartholomew, 97.
——, St. Clement, 14, 27, 35, 46, 97, 131, 141, 147, pl. 29.
——, St. Edmund, Pountney Lane, 69.
——, St. Helen, 9, 71, 88, 90, 94, 103, 133, 147.
——, St. John, 71.
——, St. John the Baptist, Cauldwell, 97.
——, St. Lawrence, 9, 74, 85, 93, 96, 113, 131, 143, 145.
——, St. Margaret, 9, 12, 28, 122, 132, 133, 147, pl. 23.
——, St. Mary Elm, 9, 74, 80, 88.
——, St. Mary Quay, 9, 32, 46, 69, 73, 81, 132.

——, St. Mary Stoke, 28.
——, St. Mary Tower, 9, 13, 15, 18, 54, 68, 76, 77, 96, 110, 131, 132.
——, St. Matthew, 9, 28, 74, 81, 85, 96, 130, 131, 135, 144, 146.
——, St. Michael, (medieval), 12.
——, ——, (modern), 97.
——, St. Mildred, 10, 11, 68.
——, St. Nicholas, 11, 12, 18, 74, 79, 80, 81, 94.
——, St. Peter, 9, 12, 13, 25, 73, 74, 81, 82, 83, 94, 118, 125, 131, 132, 140, 141, pl. 24.
——, St. Stephen, 9, 35, 74, 122, 131.
——, ——, John, parson of, 114.
Churches, Priory, 78, 79.
——, Roman Catholic, 50.
Churchwardens, 13, 90, 92.
Cinemas, 97, 149.
Circumnavigation, 8, 46.
Circumnavigators, *see* Cavendish, Eldred.
City Match, The, 90.
Clare, 25.
Clare, Ric. of, 141.
Clarke, G. H., *History of Ipswich* by, 19.
Claydon, 104, 145, 146.
Clerkenwell, 133.
Cliff, the, 42, 45.
——, Ipswich from the, 6, pl. 1.
Cliff Brewery, Souvenir of, 52.
Cliff Quay, 68, 149.
Clock, Gaol, 6.
Cloth Industry and Trade, 17, 27, 31, 32, 33, 37, 61, 74, 136.
Cloth Market, 37.
Clothworkers, Incorporation of, 37, 145.
——, Ordinances for, 37, 144.
Clothes, 17, 122-124, 132.
Cloths, Stained, 35.
Club, Musical, 118.
Cnut, 25, 140.
Coaches, 44.
Coal, 41, 122.
Cobat, Jn., 113.
Cobbett, Wm., 41.
Cobbold, Family of, 42, 43, 67.
——, Felix, T., 16.
——, Jn. Chevallier, M.P., 16, 44.
——, Ric., pl. 1, 30.
Cock and Pye Inn, 107.
Cock fighting, 107.
Cocke, Wm., 136.
Coddenham, 102.
Coffee house, 107.
Coggeshall, 94.
Coinage of Suff., 119.
Colchester, 39, 44, 95, 148.
Cold Dung Hill, 130.
Colman Street, 43.
Cologne, 31.
Comedians, Norwich Co. of, 106.
Commerce, 29, 31-33, 36-38, 41, 42, 45, 46, 57, 103, 104, 109, 118, 136.
——, Hall of, 7.
Commercial Road, 46.
Commissioners of Array, 112.
Commissioners, Dock, 7.
Commissioners for Improving Borough, 121.
Commissioners, Port & River, 43.
Commons, Ho. of, Petition to, 92, 145.
Congregationalists, 94.
Constables, Special, 118.
Constantine Road Power Station, 67, 149.
Convent of St. Mary & St. Joseph, 50.
Cook, H. R., 7.
Cook's Row, *see* Dial Lane.
Co-operative Soc., 119, 148.
Copdock, 102.
Copinger, W. A., *Suffolk Records*, by, 20.
Copping, Geo., 34, 35.
Coprolite, 45.
Coranto, 13.
Corder, John Sewell, Works by, 40.

Corn, 27, 31, 41, 45, 55, 70.
Corn Exchanges, 11, 47, 48, 146, 148.
Corn Exchange Tavern, 10, 69.
Cornard, Little, 130.
Corner Posts, 17, 107, 121, pl. 41.
Cornhill, 9, 11, 17, 29, 47, 50, 68, 69, 88, 95, 100, 106, 148, pl. 5, 17, 21, 44.
Coroners, 53, 54, 58, 59, *and see* Knapp, Jn.
Corporation, Close, 63.
Corpus Christi, Procession of, 61, 77, 82, 142 *and see* Gilds.
Correction, House of, 70, 145.
Corruption, 64-137.
Costyn, Geoff., 129.
Coteller, Thos. le, 135.
Councillors, 65.
County Courts, East Suffolk, 15, pl. 35.
——, Norfolk, 54.
——, Suffolk, 54, 55, 99-101.
County Hall, 149.
County Town, Ipswich as, 99-108.
Courtnall, Philip, 18.
Courts, Borough, 15, 29, 53, 58-60, 62, 63, 68, 80, 141.
——, Great, 6, 11.
Cowhaw, 34.
Crane, Thos., 74.
Cromwell, Oliver, 93.
——, Thos., 82.
Cross, churchyard, 74.
——, Market, *see* Market Cross.
Cross-staff, 8.
Crown Street, 135.
Crusades, 75.
Cubitt, family of, 43.
——, Sir Wm., 43, 52, 103.
Wm., 43.
Cucking Stool, 11, pl. 19.
Curates, perpetual, 12.
Currier's La., 135.
Curson, Dame Margery, 33.
——, Robert, Lord, 33, 79, 143.
Curson House, 33, 38, 40, 89, 115, 116, 121-122.
Curson Lane (Rose Lane) 33.
Customs House, 38.
Cutler, Rbt., 136.
——, Wm., 136.
Cutting, Jn., 90.
Customs, Ipswich, 11, 25, 30, 54, 56, 127-128, 141.
Custom House, Old, 7.

Dade, Hen., 13, 91, 145.
Dales Road Brickfield, 23, 24.
Dallinghoo, 7, 10.
Dalt, Jn., 131.
Dalton, Tim., 91.
Dameron, Jn., 15.
Dane, Phin the, 140, 141.
Danegeld, 24, 25, 26, 140.
Danes, 24, 25, 26, 109, 140.
Daundy, Edmd., 80, 85, 143.
——, Master, 82.
Daundy, Chantry, 80, 85.
Davy, Hen., pl. 36.
Deacon and Betts, 9.
Debenham, Gilbert, 115.
Debenham, Simon of, 128.
Defoe, Danl., 38.
Deptford, 64.
Dial Lane, (Cook's Row), 29, 129.
——, *Jacket.*
Ditches, Tower, 15, 39, 47.
Ditches, Town, 7, 39, 47, 77, 130, 141.
Dock Commissioners, 58.
Dock, New, 19, 24, 44, 45, 147, 148, pl. 31.
Docks, pl. 16 *and see* Quays.
Dod's Coffee house, 107.
Domesday Book of the Exchequer 26, 28, 73, 140.
'Domesday' of Ipswich, 20, 60, 61.
Dover, 114.
Dovercourt, 57.
Downham Bridge, 38.
——, Reach, 44.
Drama, 87, 106.
Drapers, 61.

Drapers' Hall, 144.
Drayle, Thos., 18, 52, 63, 132.
Drury, Sir Wm., 33.
Duff, E. G., 98.
Duke of York Inn, 50.
Dutch, 32, 70, 87, 145.
Dyers, 61.

Eadnoth, Norman, son of, 76.
East Anglia, 24, 25, 109, 140.
East Anglia, Antiquity of Man in, 28.
East Angles, Earl of, *see* Gyrth.
East Anglian Rising, 119.
East Bergholt, 26, 88.
East India, 42, 45, 46.
East Indiaman, 42, 147.
East Suffolk County Council, 103
Eavesdropping, 129.
Edgar, King, 53, 109, 140.
Edgar Family, 48, 137.
Edith, Queen, 6, 25, 26, 28, 53, 140.
Edward the Elder, King, 240.
Edward the Confessor, 25, 140.
Edward I, 55, 61, 110, 111, 142.
Edward II, 56, 75, 110, 142.
Edward III, 21, 55, 57, 75, 111, 112, 135, 142.
Edward IV, 57, 99, 115, 143.
Edward VI, 144.
Edward, Prince (Edward II), 110.
Edward, Prince (Black Prince), 112.
Elbing, 136.
Eldred Family, 8, 35.
—— John, 8.
—— Thos., 8, 35, 36, 40, 46, pl. 10.
Eldred House, 8, 35-36, 46.
Electric Supply, 67.
Elections, Municipal, 62, 63.
Elections, Parliamentary, County 99-110, pl. 30.
Electric Supply, 149.
Eleigh, Monk's, 78.
Eleigh, Ric. of, 78.
—— Thos. of, 78.
Elizabeth (Plantagenet), Countess of Holland, 110, 142.
Elizabeth, Queen, 34, 70, 88, 89, 116, 144.
Elliston, Geo. S.
Report on Sanitary Condition of Ipswich, 1874, 52.
Elveden Hall, 20.
Ely, Monks of, 26.
Emigration, 90-91, 145.
Ernald, Canon of Holy Trinity, 76.
Escheator, 56, 57.
Essex, Sweyn of, 140.
Eton, 81.
Exchequer, 63, 101.
Exhortation to the Sick, 131.

Factions, 38, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 118.
Fairfax, Rev. Jn., 13.
Fairs, 148.
——, Holy Cross, 76, 141.
——, St. George's, 66.
——, St. Gregory's, Sudbury, 32.
Faringdon, Ric. of, 111.
Farm, Fee, 53, 55.
Farms, 48.
Fastolf, Family of, 34, 115.
——, Thos., 34.
Felaw, Richard, 69, 80.
Felixstowe, 51.
——, Railway, 51, 148.
Felshanger, Walt. de, 75.
Fertilisers, 45.
Fiennes, Celia, 38.
Fires, 76, 145.
——, Prevention of, 67, 130.
Fish, sale of, 60.
Fish, Stock, 32.
Fishing Voyages, 32.
Fisons, Ltd., 45.
Fitch, Wm. Stevenson, 20.
Flanders, 114.
Flemings, 37.
Floods, 43.
Flora, figure of 10, 47.
Fonnereau family, 67.
——, Charles Wm., 16.
——, Claude, 145.
——, Claude Williams, 16.

Font, St. Peter's, 12.
Football, 105, 149.
Fore Street, 8, 35, pl. 16.
Foreign burgesses, 63, 64.
Foreigner, colouring of goods of, 60.
'Foreigners,' intervention of, 62.
Forestalling, 60.
Forgon, Jn., 14.
Fortifications, 27, 92, 116, 145. *see also* Walls.
Foundation Street, 45, 69, 117.
Foundries, 42-43, 147.
Fox and Geese, 17, pl. 41.
Foxe, Jn., 88, 90.
Foxhall, 95.
Framlingham, 16, 88, 116.
France, 36, 37, 112, 114.
Franchise, 118, 119.
Fraunceys, Wm., 113.
Frauncis, Sir Nich., 79.
Freedom of the Borough, 60, 63-65, 89, 127-128, 134, 138.
Freeholders, County, 99.
Freeman of the Borough of Ipswich, 139.
Freston, 95.
Friars, 77-80, 84, 85, 110, 112. *See also* Priories, Carmelite, Dominican, Franciscan.
Friars' Bridge, 39.
Friends, Soc. of, 43, 94, 95, 100.
Frigates, 146.
Frost, Geo., pl. 6, 44.
Fulk, canon of Holy Trinity, 76.
Fuller, Robt., 49.
Furniture, 121-127.
Fysshman, John, 60.
Furbusshour, John 60.

Gainsborough, Thos., 16, 117, 146.
Gallows, Borough, 29.
Game, Alice, 132.
Gamen, Alicè, 132.
Gaols, 6, 28, 73, 78, 94, 101-103, 114, 141, 145, 146.
Gardens, 33, 50, 51, 67, 78, 122, 123.
Gardiner, Steph., 82, 83.
Garrick, Dav., 106, 117, 146.
Gas, 147.
——, Works, 43.
Gascony, 33.
Gates, Town, 6, 9, 27, 28, 34, 39, 68, 76, 82, pl. 3.
Gauci, W., pl. 21, 31.
Geldable, 101.
Geneva Road, 51.
Gerard, Jn., 113.
Gibbon, Jn., 6.
Gibbons, E., 10.
Gild Feasts, 61.
——, Hall, 68.
——, Ordinances, 61.
Gilda Mercatoria, 72.
Gilds, 74, 80, 85, 86.
——, Corpus Christi, Merchants', 53, 55, 61, 68, 77, 80, 132.
——, Craft, 61.
——, St. Erasmus, 74.
Gipes Wic, 25.
Gipewici, 11.
Gippeswick, 11.
Gipping, R., 17, 23, 24, 43-46, 66, 103, 104, 146.
Glastonbury, Abbot of, 110.
Glyde, Jn., 20.
Glyde, Jn., junr., 52.
Glyde, Jn., *Ill. of Old Ipswich*, 52.
Godwin, Earl, 6.
Golding, Chas., 119.
Goldsmiths, 111.
Gooch, Sir Thos. Sherlock, Bt., 14, 100, pl. 30.
Gooding, Geo., 7, 17.
Goodwin, Wm., 82.
Goodwyn, Christopher, 36, 37, 144.
Goos, Rbt. le, 101.
Gotkens, Hen., 32.
Grammar, Latin, Wolsey's, 81.
Great Colman Street, 147.
Greig, G., pl. 6.
Grey, Lady Catherine, 116.
Grey Friars' House, 94.

Grimsey, B. P., 40.
Great White Horse Hotel, 49, 65, 99, 147.
Greenwich, 25.
Grimsey, B. P., 139.
Green Yard, 13, 94.
Grimsey, B. P. 20, 139.
Grocers 35, 122, 125.
Gross, Carl, 72.
Grummer, Mr., 65.
Gunpowder, 9.
Gyrth, Earl, 6, 25, 26, 28, 140, 141, pl. 2.

Hadleigh, 14, 70.
——, Rector of, 14.
Hadleigh Rd., 24, 51, 139, 140.
Hadleigh Rd. Estate, 149.
Haggar, S., 11.
Haghe, L., pl., 1.
Hagreen, Walter, pl. 10, 34, 41, 42.
Halesworth, 100.
Half-Hundred of Ipswich, *see* Liberties.
'Half Moon,' the, 17, pl. 41.
Halifax, 10, 42, 147.
Halteby, Master, 31.
Haltby, Chr., 76.
Hamburg, 31.
Ingelbrond of, 31.
Lodowic of, 31.
Hamilton,
Emma, Lady, 49, 146.
Sir Wm., 49, 146.
Hamlets, *see*
Brookes, Stoke, Wicks.
Episcopi, Wicks Ufford.
Handford, 24, 104.
——, Mill, 9, 41.
Hanse, 55.
Harbottle House, 147.
Harkstead, 113.
Harland, Lady, 106.
——, Sir Robt., 15, 147.
Harman, Edmd., 136, 139.
——, Robt., 136.
Harneys, Alice, 129.
——, John, 129.
——, Philip, 29, 129.
Harneys Quay, 46.
Harwich, 38, 42, 57, 58, 112, 142.
——, Harbour Conservancy Board, 58.
Hist. of Harwich Harbour, 72, 119.
Haslewood, Rev. Fras, 40.
Hawstead, 33.
Hawus, Jn., 87.
Headboroughs, 58.
Hempson, Wm., 93.
Henley Road, 48, 51, 71.
Henniker, Lord, 107.
Henry I, 26, 53, 75, 141.
Henry II, 109, 141.
Henry III, 56, 109, 141.
Henry IV, 111, 142.
Henry V, 34.
Henry VI, 56, 78, 114, 142, 143.
Henry VII, 115, 143.
Henry VIII, 33, 57, 81, 83, 84, 89, 115, 116, 136, 143.
Hercules, Story of, 35.
Hereford, Visct, 133.
Heyrons of London, 40.
High Stewards of Ipswich, *see* Nelson (Sir) Horatio, (Lord).
Hides, 27, 31.
Higham, I., pl. 38.
High Commission, Court of, 145.
Hilton, H. F., 52.
Historia Evangelica, 144.
Histriomastrix, 91.
Holbrook, Dame Alice, 79.
——, Ric. de, 75.
Holbein, 13.
Holland, Count of, 110, 142.
Hollesley, 114.
Holly Tavern, 29.
Holy Wells, 42.
Homilies, 85.
Hockmonday, 128.
Home Life, 120-129, 138.
Horsewade Mill, 55.
Hospitals, 33, 130.
Borough, Heath Road, 71.
East Suffolk & Ipswich, 105, 147.
St. Edmund Pountney, 130.
St. James, 130.

St. Leonard, 130, 131.
St. Mary Magd., 130.
Houses, 40, 48, 50, 120-129.
——, Anglo-Saxon, 26, 121.
——, Georgian, 120.
——, Roman, 24, 121.
——, Stuart, 121.
——, Tudor, 33-36, 38, 39, 46, 120, 121.
——, back to back, 50.
——, courtyard, *see* Curson House.
——, hall and parlour, 122-125.
——, mansions, 33.
——, villas, 46, 50, 126.
——, workmen's dwellings, 95.
Housing Plans, 149.
Howard, family, 62.
——, Jn., Philanthropist, 103.
——, Sir Jn., 56, 99, 115.
Huguenots, 37.
Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, 114.
Hustings, 148.
Hygiene, 130-131.

Iceland Voyage, 32, 46.
Ickworth, Ric. of, friar, 79.
Images, 85.
Our Lady in St. Matthew's parish, 81, 82, 144.
Our Lady in St. Mary Elms, 74
see also Lady Chapel.
Independents, 13, 94.
Indulgence, Declaration of, 94.
Indulgences, 81, 143.
Industrial Revolution, 41-48, 95.
Industries, 23, 37, 38, 47, 61.
——, Alien, 37.
——, Expansion of, 41-45.
Infirmary, 70, 71.
Inland Revenue, 7.
Inns: *see*
Cock and Pye,
Corn Exchange Tavern,
Duke of York,
Great White Horse,
Half Moon,
Holly Tavern,
Lowestoft Swan,
Neptune,
Queen's Head,
Wagon,
and see Taverns.
Inquests, 58.
Inventories, 122-127.
Ipswich, Corporation Records of, 20,
Ipswich Customs, 58, 60, 65.
Ipswich, descriptions of,
(1065), 25, 140;
(1086), 26, 140-141;
(16-17c), 33;
(1711-1722), 38;
(1830), 41.
Ipswich growth of, 27, 33-34, 39, 41, 45-51, 97, 110.
Ipswich, Half-hundred of,
see Liberties of Ipswich.
Ipswich, Origin of name of, 25.
Ipswich, position of, 23, 27, 103, 111.
Ipswich, Robert of, 31.
Ipswich Education Soc., 135.
Ipswich Gas Light Co., 43.
Ipswich Journal, 145.
Ipswich a Mart for General Traffic, 36, 40.
Ipswich Regiment, 146.
Ipswich and Suffolk. County Club, 15.
Ipswich Waterworks Co., 148.
Ireland, Carmelites in, 78.
——, Wars in, 30.
Iron, 31, 41.
Ironmongers, 45.
Irp, Jn., 135.
Isabella, Queen, 111.

Jeaffreson, John Cordy, 20.
Jeffreys, Geo., Baron Jeffreys, Judge, 102, 145.
Jinks, Mr., 65.
John, prior of St. Peter's, 76.
John, son of Norman, bailiff, 54.
Johnson, John, 36, 144.
John, King, 53, 141.
John's Ness, 42.
Joiner, 124.

Jurors, choice of, 58.
James II, 62.
Justice, figure of, 7, 10, 47, pl. 17, 21.
Juvencus, 144.

Keepers of the Sea, 26, 141.
Kelke, Dr. Rog., 89.
Kent, 25, 114.
Kerridge, Thos., 99-100.
Kerseys, 32.
Kilderbee, Saml., 16, 117, pl. 37.
King John, by John Bale, 87, 98.
King Street, 9, 10.
King John's Ness, 17.
Kirby, Jn. Joshua, 117.
——, Joshua, 12.
Kitchener of Khartoum, Earl, 137, 149.
Knapp, Jn., 17, 132, pl. 40.
——, Martha, 17, 132, pl. 40.
——, Rbt., 17.

Laborde, E. D., *Byrtnoth and the Battle of Maldon*, 28.
Labour Bureau, 149.
——, Exchange, 149.
Labourers, Statute of, 101, 112.
Lackland, Widow, 93.
Lady Chapel (in St. Matth. pa.) 81, 82, 85, 111, 115, 143, 144.
Lady Lane, 85, 131.
Lake, Jn., 15.
Landguard, 57, 117, 145.
Lane, family, 117.
——, Jane, 117.
Langen, Michael van, 32.
Laud, Wm., Archbp. of Canterbury, 90-92.
Lavenham, 33.
Layard, Nina F., works of, 86, 98, 139.
Leather, 142.
Leche, Jn., 131.
Lectures, 89, 137.
Lecturers, 89-91, 93, 96.
Lee, Rowland, 82.
Leicester, Earl of, 111.
Leofrig, moneyer, 109.
Liberals, 118.
Liberties, or Half-Hundred of Ipswich, 23, 28, 50, 68, pl. 39.
Library, Borough (Public), 20, 22, 149.
Library, Old Town, 12, 71, pl. 25.
Lighting, home, 60, 126, 129.
Lighting, street, 146, 147.
Limmer, J., 125.
Lincoln, 10.
Lincoln, Dean and Chapter, 144.
Lindsey-woolsies, 32.
Linen weaving, 38.
Lionel, Earl of Ulster, 21, 30.
Liveries, Town, 106.
Lloyd and Easter, 10.
Locke, Joseph, 16.
London, 6, 10, 23, 30, 32, 35, 41, 83, 111, 131, 136, 138.
——, Galley Key, 83.
——, Watling St., 30.
London Road, 24, 27, 104.
London Waggons, 9, pl. 14.
Longland, John, bhp. of Lincoln, 81.
Lowe, Mgt., 123.
Lower Orwell St., 51, 69.
Lowestoft
——, the 'Swan' inn, 33.
Ludlington, 78.
Lupset, Thos., 133.
Lutheran doctrines, 86-88, 136.
Luxemburg, Countess of, 111.
Lydgate, Jn., 103.

Madder, 136.
Maine, 114.
Maison Dieu, 130.
Makejoie, Matilda, 110.
Maldon, Battle of, 24, 28.
Malet, Robert, 26, 140.
Malt, 41.
Malt-houses, 83.
Malting, 41, 42, 45.
Malyn, Wm., 135, *and see* Chaucer.

Manly, Prof. John, 21.
Manning, Thos., 144.
Manors, Ipswich, 73.
Mansions, 33.
Maps, 22, 34,
——, of Ipswich, *see* Plans.
Marchant, J., pl. 35.
Margaret (Plantagenet). Duchess of Brabant, 110.
Mariners, 61, 90.
Markesio, Markesius de, 31.
Market, Beast (Cattle), 29, 47, 48, 78, 105, 146, 148.
——, Butter, *see* Butter Market
——, Cheese, 115.
——, Cloth, 37.
——, Fish, 9, 34, 35, 87.
——, Hen, 29, 30.
——, Herb, 47.
——, Meat (Flesh), 7, 29, 30, 47.
——, Provision, 47, 48, 146.
——, Saturday, 93.
Market, Clerk of, 56, 57, 143.
Markets, 7, 27, 29, 47, 48, 60, 63, 105, 118.
Market Cross, 7, 10, 11, 47, 146, pl. 5, 17.
——, heads on, 28, 86, 98, 108, 119.
Market Lane, Old, 95, 101.
Marmora, Sea of, 45.
Marriages, royal, 110-111, 142.
Martin, Leicester, 100.
——, Ric., 124.
——, Wm., 106.
Martlesham, Jn. of, friar, 79.
Martyrs, 88, 90, 98, 136, 137.
Mary, Assumption of the Virgin, 61.
Mary, Queen, 88, 116, 144.
——, players of, 106.
Maughteld, Jn., 129.
Maundy Thursday, 77.
Maynard, Guy, 139.
Mayor, 65, 147.
Meat, 27.
——, control of sale of, 144.
Medley, 33.
Melancthon, doctrines of, 87.
Melton, 113.
Melys, Geoff., 128.
Mercers, 61.
Merchant Adventurers, *see* Parker, Aug.; Pownder, Thos.
Merchant, Chaucer's, 31, 92.
Merchant Marks, 18, 39, 46, 52.
Merchants, 17, 26, 31, 32, 35, 36, 37, 46, 59, 61, 63, 132, 136, 142.
Methodists, 95.
Middleburg, 32.
Middlemen, 56.
Midlands, 25, 27.
Militia, 137, 146.
Millenium, 94.
Milling, 60.
Mills, 17, 41, 118, 129. *and see* Handford, Horsewade, Rainbirds', Stoke.
Milton, Christopher, 137-138.
——, John, 137.
Minstrels, 110.
Mint, 53, 109, 140, 141.
Moir, J. Reid, 28, 139.
Moir, J. Reid, *Antiquity of Man in East Anglia*, 28.
Molton, Sir Thos., 110.
Monastries, Dissolution of, 34, 84, *and see* Priories.
Moone, Pet., 87, 88.
Moot Hall, 10, 11, 37, 68, 93, 106, pl. 17.
Moot Horn, 18, 72.
Moral and Religious Conditions of Ipswich, 52.
Morning Chronicle, 65.
Mortimer, Rog., 111, 142.
Mose, —, 100.
Motor traffic, 47.
Mummers, 110.
Municipal Corporation Commission, Report of, (1835), 64-65, 72.
Municipal Reform Act, 1835, 19, 64-66, 71.
Municipal Reform Act, 1888, 68.
Municipal Reform, Commissioner for, 147.
Municipal Works, 48, 51, 66-68, 148, 149.

Murage, 27, 142.
Muscovy, 33.
Museum Street, 48, 95.
Museums, 48, 121, 148, 149.
and see Christchurch Mansion.
Music:
Fiddlers at feasts, 61, 110.
Minstrels, 110.
Musical Club, 118.
Town Waits, 106.
Mutiny, 145.

Nacton, 115.
Nacton, Wilfred of, friar, 79.
Nacton Corner, 107.
Nacton Rd., 51.
Nacton Rd. Estate, 149.
Napoleonic Wars, 41, 49.
Nationalisation, 67.
Navy, provisioning of, 41, 104.
Nayland, 110.
Needham Market, 95.
Negus, Francis, 7, 10, 47.
Nelson, Rev. Edmd., 49.
——, (Frances) Lady, 49.
——, Sir Horatio, Baron, 48, 49, 137, 146.
Neptune Inn, 8, 35, 46, pl. 8.
Netherlands, 29, 31, 36, 37, 87, 111.
Newbourne, 102, 136.
Newcastle, 122, 134.
New Cut, 17.
New England, Emigration to, 90-91, 98.
New World, 90.
News from Ipswich, 13, 91, 145, pl. 27.
Nile, Battle of, 49.
Noller's Spring Vans, 44.
Nonconformity, 90, 94-96.
Non-omittas, writ of, 68.
Norfolk, 9, 70.
Norfolk, Earls & Dukes of, 57, 58, 99, 115.
—— ——, Thos. (Howard) Duke of, 81.
—— ——, players of, 106.
and see Bigod.
Norman architecture, 73.
Normandy, 104, 114.
Normans, 109.
Northgate Street, (Brook Street), 15, 30, 107, 113, pl. 32.
Norwich, 6, 41, 44, 78, 148.
Norwich, Martin of, friar, 79.
Norwich Road, 24, 27, 51.
Nottcutt, Mr., 125.
Nottidge, Rev. J. T., 97.
Nova Scotia, 42.
Nunn, Wm., 95.
Nupkins, Mr., 65.
Nursey, C. L., pl. 21, 31.

O'Connell, Danl., 65.
Ogilby, Jn., 14.
Olde Corner Posts of Ipswich, 40.
Oldenholm, 55.
Old Foundry Rd., 9, 43.
Oliver *alias* Vytar, Reg., 87, 144.
Omnibuses, 149.
——, Howard's, 105.
——, Motor, 105.
Open Spaces, 50.
Ordinances, Borough, 54.
——, Clothworkers', 144.
——, Naval, 26, 141.
Orford family, 67.
Orwell, 142.
Orwell, Port, 32, 38, 57, 104, 111, 112.
Orwell, River, 16, 17, 23, 24, 25, 26, 38, 44, 46, 57, 58, 95, 104, 111, 112, 114, 147, pl. 36.
Orwell Works, 43, 46.
Osbert, Sim., son of, 76.
Osmond, Benj., 10.
Oswen, Jn., 87, 131.
Oxford, 80, 142.
——, Christchurch, 13, 22, 81-83, pl. 26.
——, New College, 81.

Pacific Coast, 45.
Panington, 75.
Paper, brown, 42.
Paper Mills, 42.

Pargetting, 35, 40.
Paris, 7, 78.
Parish, the, 96.
Parish Authorities, 66.
Parish Surveyors, 66.
Parishes, 73, 75, 88-90.
——, *individual*, *see under* Churches.
Parker, Augustin, 18, 39.
Parkhurst, Jn., 89.
Parliament, Borough Elections to, 116, 142.
——, County Elections to, 14, 99, pl. 30.
Parliament, Members of: *see under* Barnardiston, Cobat, Cobbold, Gerard, Gooch, Seckford.
Parliamentarians, 92, 93.
Paston, Family of, 34, 115.
Paston Letters, 119.
Pasture, 25.
Patronage, Church, 73, 75, 89, 96, 97.
Paul, Robt., 45.
Pawsey's Ladies' Fashionable Repository, pl. 35.
Peace, Clerk of, 103.
——, Justices of, 56, 57, 108, 142.
——, Sessions, of 15, 143. *and see* Sessions Hall.
Pearson, Anthy, 136.
Peasants' Revolt, 113-114, 142.
Pecock, Wm., 132.
Penance, 79, 131.
Pennington, Ric., 132-133.
Pertrich, Ric., 130.
Peterloo, 118.
Petitions, 92, 145, 147.
'Petties', 80, 132.
Philippa, Queen, 21, 30.
Phillipps Collection, 20.
Phin the Dane, 140, 141.
Physicians, 130-131.
Pickwick Papers, 65.
Picture House, 149.
Piepowder, Pleas of, 59.
Pilgrimages, 76, 81, 85, 115, 143.
Pillory, 60.
Piper, S., pl. 6.
Piracy, 34, 135.
Plagues, 130, 131.
Plans of Ipswich (1325) pl. 4; (1610) pl. 11; (1812) pl. 39; (1674) pl. 29.
Playhouses, 106-108, 117.
Pleas, Hall of, 68.
——, Petty, 59.
Pleas, Maritime, 59.
Plough, chilled, 9.
Plymouth, 36.
Pococke, E., pl. 8, 20, 28, 33, 43.
Pole, de la., Michl., Earl of Suffolk, 114.
——, Wm., Duke of Suffolk, 114, 143.
Police, County, 99.
Polleshead, 57, 143.
Poole, 11.
Poor Law, Elizabethan, 70.
Poor Law Institution, 71.
Poor, Relief of, 70, 96, 110, 146.
Pope, the, 36, 81, 87, 113.
Population, 23, 41, 97, 145-149.
Pores, Senche, 31.
Port, 27, 29, 31, 32, 38, 43, 45, 57, 87, 114, 118, 142, 143.
——, Act for improving, 43, 146.
——, decay of, 38.
——, plan to set up Free Mart at, 36, 144.
——, silting of, 38, 43.
Portman Marshes, 48, 55, 148.
——, Moots, 58.
——, Road, 57.
Portmen, 17, 54, 55, 61-64, 66, 82.
Post Office, 47, 148.
Powder Magazine, 102.
Powell, Edgar, 119.
Power, D'Arcy, 139.
Pownder, Thos., 46, 132.
Praemunire, 83, 143, 144.
Presbyterians, 13, 94.
Pretty, Wm., 47.
Princes Street, 48.
Princes Street, 149.
Princes Street Bridge, 148.
Printing, 87, 98, 131, 144.

Priories, 89.
——, Suppression of, 34, 84.
Priory, Butley, 144.
——, Carmelite (White Friars' 9, 70, 78, 79, 84, 85, 87, 111, 141, 143, 144.
——, Dominican (Black Friars'), 9, 12, 32, 69-71, 77, 78, 84, 85, 141, 144, pl. 25.
——, Franciscan (Grey Friars') 9, 79, 84, 112, 144.
——, Holy Trinity *or* Christchurch (Austin Canons), 9, 34, 73, 76, 77, 84-86, 110, 141, 144.
——, St. Peter and St. Paul (Austin Canons), 75-77, 81, 84, 86, 110, 141, 143.
——, Woodbridge, 83.
Privateering, 34.
Privy Council, 91, 92.
Professional homes, 125-127.
——, quarter, 48.
Provisors, Statute of, 113.
Prynne, Wm., 13, 91, 145.
Public Assistance Institution, 71.
Public Hall, 148.
Publishing, 87.
Pulpit, 13, pl. 28.
Puplett, Ric., Town Clerk, 15, 145.
Puritanism, 13, 88-90, 106, 116.
Putnam, Bertha, *Proc. before Justices of the Peace*, 108.
Pykenham, Wm., 14.
Pykenham's Gateway, 14, 113, pl. 32.

Quay, the Common, 7, 46, pl. 6.
Quays, 7, 9, 43, 44, 46, 109. *and see* Dock.
Queen Anne's Bounty, 96.
Queen's Head, 44.
Queen's Street, 78, 87.
Quicksilver Coach, 44.
Quo Warranto, 145.

Radicals, 118.
Races, 106-107, 149.
Railway, 15-16, 43, 44, 46, 47, 105, 148, pl. 36.
——, Eastern Counties, 44.
——, Eastern Union, 15-16, 44, 52, pl. 36.
——, Felixstowe, 51, 148.
——, Ipswich and Bury, 44, 148.
——, Ipswich and Norwich, 148.
Railway Station, 50, 148.
Rainbird's Mill, 118, 146.
Ramparts, *see* Walls.
Ransome family, 42-43, 95.
——, Jas., 9, 95.
——, Rbt., 9, 42, 146.
Ransomes' Skittle Alley, 9, pl. 12.
Ransomes and Rapier, 43.
Ransomes, Sims and Jefferies, Ltd., 9, 22.
Ransomes Royal Records, 52.
Rates, 65, 66, 96.
Rattlesden, 103, 104.
Raymond, Geo., 122.
Read & Page, 9.
Reaney, P. H., 40.
Recorder, Deputy, 137.
Records, Corporation, 141.
Redberd, Hen., 135.
Red House, 48, 137.
Rede, Rbt., 74.
Redlingfield, 102.
Rednall, Jn., 15.
Redstone, Vincent B., 20, 21, 40, 86, 108.
Reeve, King's, 53.
Reformation, 61, 84-89.
Return of Writs, 56, 141.
Richard I, 28, 53, 76.
Richard II, 56, 142.
Richard III, 57, 115, 143.
Richardson, Wm. H., 19.
Ringmere, 25, 140.
Riots, 55, 56, 112-113, 118, 142, 146, 147.
Rivers, John, 49.
Robert, moneyer, 109.
Robert (of Essex), 140.
Roberts, E., pl. 38.

Rochefoucauld, M. François de la, 50, 107.
Roman Settlements, 24, 140.
Rose Lane, 33.
Rothulf, 27.
Rotunda, 7, 11, 17, 47, 120, 146, pl. 44.
Round Wood, 48-49, 146.
Rowley, Sir Wm., 100, 101.
Royalists, 116, 117, 137, 138.
see also Sparrowe.
Rudder, stern-post, 11.
Rushes, 27.
Rushmere, 28, 95, 138.
Rushmere Heath, 17, 49.
Rushmere Lane (Woodbridge Rd.), 49.
Russel, Fred., pl. 10, 34, 41, 42.

Sabbath keeping, 91, 93, 97.
St. Angelo, Cardinal of, 113.
St. Edmundsbury & Ipswich See of, 97.
St. Etheldreda, Liberty of, 101, 113.
St. George's Street, 51.
St. Lawrence Lane, 37.
St. Margaret's Ditches, 9, 39, 42, 146.
——, Gate, 105.
——, Plain, 68.
St. Michael and the Dragon, 11, 73, pl. 22.
St. Peter's, manor of, 140, 141.
St. Stephen's Lane, 78.
Salt, 31, 32, 60, 103, 132.
Sammuell, Rbt., 88.
Sampson, Thos., 113, 114.
Sanitation, 50, 52, 67.
Saunders, J. F., 16.
Savage's Windmill, 118.
Saxmundham, 99.
Saxton, Christopher, 34.
Say, Wm., 132.
Scheldt, R., 12.
Schools, 80-83, 132-133.
Art, 149.
'Common', 69, 83.
Charity, 134, 137, 139.
Christ's Hospital, 70, 71.
Convent, 50.
Endowed, 69-71.
Grammar, 9, 12, 70, 71, 133, 143, pl. 25.
Girls' Public Day, 108.
National, 137.
Ragged, 95.
Sunday, 135.
Wolsey's, 69, 80-83, 133, 143, 144.
Scolds, 11.
Scoloker, Anthy., 87, 144.
Scone, Hildebrand, 31.
Scot and Lot, 25, 26.
Scotland, 45.
Seals, of King John, 53.
Common, of Ipswich, 11, 54, 55, pl. 18.
Seamen, disabled, 137.
Seckford family, 34.
——, Thos., M.P., 34.
Seckford Hall, Great Bealings, 34.
Seckford House, Ipswich, 34, 38.
Sedan chairs, 66.
Sessions Halls, 10, 68, 71, 101-103, 110.
and see Shire House.
Sewer, Main, 67.
Seymour, Edw., Earl of Hertford, 116.
Shambles, 7, 47, 146, pl. 5.
Shelland, 29.
Sheriff, 26, 53, 55, 56, 68, 75, 100, 101, 140-142.
Shipbuilding, 7, 9, 38, 42, 146, 147.
Ship Money, 90.
Ships, 31, 147.
'Cats', 38.
East Indiaman, 42.
Eldred's, 8, 36, pl. 9, 10.
in Gild Processions, 61.
passenger, to New England, 90, 91.
with stern-post rudder, 11.
Champion, 146.
Desire, 35.
Hampshire, 146.
La Malyn 135.
Mary Walsingham, 32, 46.
Orion, 9 pl. 15.

Orwell, 147.
Suffolk, 99.
Shire Hall, 10, 15, 71, 101-103, 106, 142, 145, pl. 34.
Shire Moot, 99.
Shire Houses, 101.
Shirehouse Hill, 101.
Shopping in Ipswich, 23, 105, 108.
Shotley, 112.
Shottisham, 105.
Sibton, Abbot of, 33.
Silent Street, 33.
Silk weaving, 38.
Simeon's Trustees, 96.
Siwold, moneyer, 109.
Sketches by Boz, 65.
Skittle Alley, Ransomes', 9, 42, pl. 12.
Skypper, Rose, 74.
Slum Clearance, 51, 149.
Sluys, battle of 112.
Smallpox, 103, 105, 146.
Smart, Wm., 12, 27, 70, 71, 144.
Smith, G. C. Moore, 40.
Smith's Waggons, 44.
Smuggling, 56, 135.
Socialism, 119.
'Songsters,' 80.
South Town (Yarmouth), 105, 146.
Southwark, 23.
Spain, 31, 36, 90.
Sparrowe, Family, 35, 117, 137.
——, Rbt., 35, 93.
——, Wm., 35.
Sparrowe House, *see* Ancient House.
Sport, 91, 93, 106-107.
Speed, John, 7, 8.
Spright's Lane, 17.
Spring Road, 50.
Stace, Agnes, 30.
——, Geoffrey, 30.
Stained Cloths, 60, 68.
Stalls, 29.
Star Lane, 17, pl. 42.
Starling, Agnes, 14.
——, Rbt., 76.
Stay Factory, 47.
Steam-boat Service, 147.
Steam engine, 43, 147.
Steam-ship, 147.
——, *Orion*, 9, pl. 15.
Steeple Bumpstead, 85.
Steeple-chasing, 107.
Stephen, King, 109, 141.
Steward, Thos., 14.
Steward, High, 137, 146, 147, 149.
Stockton, Owen, 94.
Stoke Bridge, 9, 10, 43, 118, 146, 147, pl. 16.
Stoke Lodge, 20.
Stoke Mill, 9, 41, 118.
Stoke Nayland, 99.
Stoke, 9, 23, 26, 58, 118, 146.
——, Station, 46.
Stone, Caen, 82, 104.
——, importation of, 55, 103.
Stone Age, 23.
Stoneham, Benj., 94.
Stour, River, 57, 58.
Stourmouth, battle at 24, 140.
Stowmarket, 43, 46, 66, 104.
Stratford St. Mary, 102, 104.
Street Signs, 7.
Streets :
improvement of, 47.
lighting, 47, 66.
paving, 66.
Strong, Sampson, 13.
Sudbury, 32, 70.
Suffolk, 100-108, 138.
——, Archdeacon of, *see* Archdeacon.
——, Earls and Dukes, of, *see* de la Pole, Ufford.
——, Duchess of, players of, 106.
Suffolk Agricultural Society, 99, 147.
Suffolk Society for Education of Poor, 135.
Superphosphates, 45.
Surgeons, 130-131.
Surrey, Thos. Earl of, 57.
Sutton, Sir Jn., 78.
Swein, moneyer, 109.
Sweyn of Denmark, 26.
Sweyn of Essex, 140, 141.

Tacket Street, 33, 94, 106, 117, 134, 138.
Tankard Inn, 39, 106.
Tanning, 14, 27.
Tattingstone, 115.
Tavern Street, 17, 29, 47, 149, pl. 44.
Taverns, 29, 30, 80, 128.
Taxation, 90, 112.
Taylors, Incorporation of, 37, 145.
Taylors' Hall, 144.
Tenteryard, 74.
Thatch, 27.
Thetford, 102.
——, Ringmere Pit, near, 25.
Thew, 11, pl. 19.
Thicknesse, Phil, 117.
Thingstead, 68, 76.
Thomas (Plantagenet) of Brotherton, 112.
Thornhill, Sir Jas., 38, 145.
Thurkill the Tall, 25, 140.
Thurleston, 25, 28, 76.
Timber Trade, 31, 42, 45.
Tiptot.
——, Sir Robt., 79.
——, Una, 79.
Tithe, 88.
Tokelove, Jn., 131.
Toll, 53, 55, 60, 63.
Toll House, 10, 68.
Tollemache, Ric., 113.
'Tom Peartree', 118.
Tomline Road, 107.
Tooley, Hen., 12, 32, 33, 46, 69, 70, 132, 144.
Tories ('Blues'), 14, 63, 64, 65, 96, 100, 101, 134.
Tower, traditional, 110.
Tower Street, 30.
Town Clerk, 57, 59, 60, 64, 118, 141.
and see Batley, Wm.; Blake, Jn. le; Kilderbee, Saml.; Puplett, Ric.
Town Crier, 64.
Town Hall, 10, 11, 48, 68, 69, 146-148.
Town Planning, 51, 97, 149.
Trade Restrictions, 63.
——, Unions, 118.
Trams, horse, 50, 148.
Tramway Station, 149.
Transport, 50, 103-105, 138, 148, 149.
Treadmill, 103.
Trinity House, 136.
Tripp, Jn., 124.
Trolley buses, 50.
Tudor Buildings, *see* Houses,
——, Ipswich, 105, 106.
Tumblers, foreign, 106.
Turnpikes, 104, 105.
Twenty-four, The, 58, 61, 62, 63, 64, 82.
Tyball, Jn., 85.

Ufford, de, Earls of Suffolk, 28.
——, Dame Petronilla, 79.
Ulfketel the Snelling, 25.
Ulster, Lionel Earl of, 21.
Ulverston Hall, 7.
Union, Ipswich (Poor Law), 71.
Unitarian Chapel, 28, 94.
——Pulpit in, 13, pl. 28.
Universal Character, 133.
Unwin, priest, 12.

Valentine Verses, 14.
Valuation books, 22.
Vere, John de, Earl of Oxford, 33.
——, Margt. de, Countess of Oxford, 79.
——, Sir Robt. de, 79.
Victoria County History of Suffolk, 28.
Vigo, 33.
Vikings, 24.
Villa, Roman, 24, 121, 139.
Vintry, 29, 31.
Virginia, 144, 145.
Visdelou, Sir Thos., 112.
Visitations, Norwich, 86.

Wader, Ralph, 26, 140.
Waggons, London, 9, pl., 14.
Wagon Inn, 117.
Walls, 7, 27, 39, 77, 79, 101, 141, 142.

Walsingham, Our Lady of, 85.
Walsingham, Sir Fras., 89.
Walthamstow, 34.
Walton, 24, 57, 110, 111, 112, 142.
Ward, Saml., 13, 89-91, 145.
Warehouses, 23, 45.
Wars:
  Civil, 39, 62, 116.
  Dutch, 33, 38.
  Hundred Years,' 111, 112, 135.
  Irish, 30.
  Napoleonic, 107, 137.
  Scottish, 55.
  World (1914), 51.
  ——, (1939), 51.
  York and Lancaster, 115, 116.
Wash, the, 69.
Water Supply, 42, 66, 67, 129. 148, 149.
Wellington, Arthur, duke of, 147.
Wellington Club, 64.
Wentworth, Thos., Lord, 84.
Wesel, 88.
Westerfield, 25, 28.
  ——, Wood, 16.
'Westernmen', 70.
Westgate Street, 34.
Westhall, Joan de, 30, 31.
Westminster, 83.
Wherstead, 15, 75, 106.
Wherstead, Road, 71.
Whigs ('Yellows'), 63, 64, 65, 100-101.
White, Matthew, *see* Prynne, Wm.
Whitehall (York House) 83.
Whitehead, Geo., 94.
Whitton, 24, 51, 76, 121, 140.
Wicks (Wykes), hamlets of, 25, 74, 110.
  ——, Bishop (Episcopi), 28, 42, 58, 89, 110.
  ——, Ufford, 28, 58, 110, 114.
Wilford Hundred, 101.
Willesden, Our Lady of, 85.
William I (duke of Normandy), 6, 26, 53, 103, pl. 2.
Willoughby Rd., 127.
Windows, 129.
Windsor, 136.
Wine Trade, 29, 30, 31, 33, 103.
Wingfield, Sir Anthony, 33, 115.
Wingfield House, 33, 39, 106.
Winthrop Letters, 98.
Wisgar of Clare, 140.
Witches, 93, 102.
Withebek, Hen., 32.
Withypoll, Edmd., 34, 133.
Withypoll, Family of, 40.
Woad, 136.
Wodderspoon, John, *Memorials of Ipswich* by, 19.
Wode, Edw., 131.
Wolsey, Rbt., 80.
  ——, Thos., Cardinal, 13, 22, 80-85, 109, 135, 143, pl. 26.
Wolsey's Colleges, 69, 80-83, 133, 143, 144.
Wolsey's College, Gateway, 12, 83, pl. 24.
Wolsey Street, 51.
Wolverstone, 91, 95.
Woodbridge, 49, 83, 101.
Woodbridge Rd., (Rushmere Lane,) 48, 49, 71, 146, 147.
Wool Trade, 31, 32, 135, 142, 143.
Worcester, battle of, 35, 116.
Workhouse, 70, 96, 147.
  ——, Old Tower, 15, pl. 33.
Working Men's College, 107, 118, 148.
Workmen's Dwellings, 95.
Wren, Christopher, 13.
Wren, Matth., bishop, 13, 91, 92, 145.
Wulsie, moneyer, 109.
Wynter, Beatrice, 74.
Wytton, Jn., 134.

Yarmouth, Great, 49, 104, 146.
Yorkists, 99, 115,
Yoxford, Cockfield Hall, 116.

Zeppelin, 149.
Zimmerman, Ben., 86.
Zurich, 89.
Zwinglian doctrines, 86, 87.